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Translating Papiamentu

by

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Table of Contents

Introduction: 1 - 13

Ch. 1 - Caribbean Sociolinguistics: 14-54

Ch. 2 - Background Issues in Translation Theory: 55-73

Ch. 3 - A Papiamentu Translation Workshop I: Oral Literatures 74-94

Ch. 4 - A Papiamentu Translation Workshop II: Written Literatures 95-141

Ch. 5 - A Papiamentu Translation Workshop III: Women Writers 142-158

Ch. 6 - Mi nigrita Papiamentu: A Poem in Papiamentu, Translated and with Commentary: 159-182

Conclusion: 183-190

Bibliography: 191-202

Appendix I: 203-207

Appendix II: 208-209

Appendix III: 210-211

List of Tables: **Page:**

Table 1: Language Most Spoken at Home 33

Table 2: Language Status, Presence and Legal Status 35

Introduction

In this dissertation I intend to use translation and translation theory to describe selected works of Papiamentu literature from Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao. The course of Papiamentu literature will be traced from its inception up to the present. When talking about literary translation, which is the transposition of a particular work of literature from one language into another, it is not simply a word for word translation that takes place, rather a careful and coherent global rendition which respects the author's position and the intended audience. In this dissertation I will deal with the interface between creative writing and translation in the postcolonial context, focussing on the concept of writing as translation and translating from an original. As such, this study will cast light on the problems involved in translating between alien, divergent and non-related language cultures. Showcasing Papiamentu, with its Afro-Antillean roots, is to point to the African oral narrative elements that are embedded in its literature. Invaluable insight comes from George Lang's *Entwisted Tongues* (2000), Paul Bandia's dissertation *Sociolinguistic and Sociocultural Aspects of Translation* (1993), Frank Martinus Arion's *The Kiss of a Slave* (1997), Wim Rutgers' *Beneden en Boven de Wind* (1996), and Aart Broek's *Pa saka kara* (1998). In the particular context of Creoles, it is expected that the dissertation will provide suggestions for a general theory of translation, including such models of translation that present it as a decision-making process governed by established set of hierarchical priorities, as well as others that focus more on the sociocultural dimension of human communication.

One goal of this study will be to examine the issue of translating from a colonial

European language into Papiamentu as well as translation from Papiamentu into English. Questions will be raised as to who translates Papiamentu literature, for whom, under what circumstances and from which vantage points. Another goal is to ascertain the extent to which linguistics as a descriptive science can usefully help us understand minority and/or marginalized languages in translation. A third aim is to propose more versatile uses of linguistics as a tool in literary criticism. Various specific areas of linguistics such as historical linguistics, language transcription, orthography, semantics, theories of creole formation and culture, etc., will shed light on the translations featured. Knowing what happens in the transmission of culture in translation from one language to another is the main focus of this dissertation.

Among the translations to be examined not one is of the type discussed by C. S. Lewis in his study of "Jabberwocky", where meaningless gibberish was made to look like coherent language. Although the Papiamentu authors certainly display unique styles of writing in prose or poetry, what these selections have in common is that they reflect a surprisingly complex language system, the Creole Papiamentu. It is also apparent that authors implicitly or explicitly have constructed a hypothetical history of the colonial past of the islands, of the earliest inhabitants, of the conquest by Spain, of the subsequent slave trade, to illustrate how the events in their history have constructed their identity. Whether collective identity is to be sought in local cultural practices, or whether it is the object of individual processes of inquiry and creativity, or again whether it is experienced as a loss in exile which needs to be healed - it appears that Caribbean identity depends on the relations that the Caribbean self establishes with a locale, a history, memories and other selves.

When there is an expression of personal identity in Papiamentu, there is often an

indication of implicit struggle. A tension seems to arise between the individual's sense of what he has done, where he comes from, and where he believes he is going. Identity is also about the selective stirring of all internal and external forces. It is about difference and exclusion of those things that are not essential, as well as inclusion of essential aspects in a positive relation to one's self. Some factors in the production of Antillean identities and identification will be explored. This research will examine how these identities have been portrayed in Papiamentu literature and will also look at the implicit assumptions that determine the direction of this literature The aim is to determine whether the conflict in this literature also lies deep within the make-up of Papiamentu, and whether or not it reveals a traumatic ambivalence which at the same time brings personal identity reconstruction and consequently aids in the possibility of growth and change of a people, a collectivity.

What becomes clear in a first reading of these texts is that their creators were and are becoming increasingly concerned with the serious prospect of establishing a means of communicating with beings from other places whose linguistic code and culture differ from their own. In one piece featured, *Hé Patu* [The Duck] by Elis Juliana, the Papiamentu text is concerned with vocal rhythmic and percussionistic renditions which, it may be argued, necessarily lose something in translation. It is clear, perhaps only to those acquainted with the language, that these authors take great delight in showing that these linguistic dimensions in Papiamentu are important playful aspects of literature.

Papiamentu writers allow us to imagine alternative ways of being that move their narration from the realities of tradition, and of history into the magical realm of the literary. It will be noted that within these narratives there is often an undercurrent of painful happenings belonging to the past. The imaginative reconstruction of history aids

in the re-visioning of European history in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, also called the ABC islands, that are the focus of this dissertation. Familiar events and people are recast in order to situate life in the context of larger historical moments and movements. For example, through the compassionate eyes of the poet Guillermo Rosario (1971) in his *Mi nigrita Papiamentu* [My Darling Papiamentu], this Creole language, once the subject of disrespect and negativity as well as the object of desire, becomes a metaphor for an alternative way of remembering the past. The poet gives expression to a way of life and selects events and images in order to render the story of a life, albeit an anonymous one, a historical one. In so doing, the poem achieves a remarkable double vision; the life of a woman and the movement of history inform, comment upon, and shape each other. In turn the translation of the poem is often reflective of the translator's life as well and gives the poem further resonance. The reader, the translator, and the author/poet are all co-originators of a newly forming cultural identity. We are not merely consumers of art. In participating as readers and translators, we co-constitute the form of cultural identity which the poetry/prose makes possible.

The examples drawn from my own experience in translation are presented to give the reader insight into some of the frustrating problems encountered when transferring concepts from one language to another. Early on in my life translation became an integral, natural, and continuing part of it. As a Dutch speaker married to a Canadian, many opportunities involving Dutch-English translation of the letters and messages sent from the Netherlands to my family presented themselves. Later on my interest was kindled by the work of Elis Juliana, an Antillean poet who wrote the booklet *Un mushi di Haiku* [A Dram or a Measure of Haiku] (1994), which became the topic of my earlier work. This translation arose originally as the subject for the final term paper in a course

on translation. Deciding to translate the Papiamentu haiku into English soon led to the discovery that the work of translating even one half of the booklet consumed a great deal of time and energy, a fact of life that proved to be at times exhausting, but always exhilarating. The outcome was that by the time the course ended, the whole booklet had been translated and featured as an appendix in my master's thesis (2000). Subsequent to completing my degree, I was awarded a grant from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds in Curaçao to have this completed translation of Elis Juliana's *Un Mushi di Haiku* published. The publication by the University of Alberta Press in a bilingual edition, featuring both languages on opposing pages so as to allow the reader to view, with no need to turn the page, the original verse and the translation at the same time (Juliana, 2003).

It would appear that to both reader and author, form is as important as content. As a translator I was anxious to remain true not only to the essence, but also to the style and tone of the work in the source language, while at the same time render it in a way that was understandable to someone from a very different culture or mind set. It became clear that translation was a balancing act that required sensitivity, intuition, a combination of humility, arrogance, and extreme vigilance. Though humility and arrogance seem to be a strange and contradictory pair, I hasten to add that I intended to show a certain deference to the original author while maintaining a certain measure of arrogance in assuming that I had the ability to become the co-author in another language.

As an apprentice in the art of translating I realized that I was continually confronted by new problems in the text and yet relished the prospect of novel experience that I hoped would stimulate personal growth, interest, and enjoyment in the task of translation. Douglas Robinson states that translation is an activity which requires creative

problem-solving techniques in novel textual and cultural conditions. He also maintains that translators will need to recall experiences stored in their own memory (Robinson 1997a: 51). It is very important to attribute the right nuance to the words of the texts that are to be translated. As Von Humboldt points out, "Fidelity must direct itself" by which he means to say that word-for-word translation is not the goal, rather it is the constant weighing and measuring of nuance in translation (Schulte & Biguenet 1992: 57). The translations in this dissertation, whether from Dutch, Papiamentu, or any other language into English are my own. In the dissertation the texts quoted in the original language and my translation thereof will appear beneath each other, but separated by the sign: ✹. Furthermore, I have endeavored to present the texts in their original language whenever possible. The only exception to this are the newspaper articles from early newspapers in Papiamentu mentioned in this dissertation in Chapter one, given that they were translated "on the spot" at the *Fundashon Biblioteka Publiko Korsou* [The Public Library of Curaçao], where they are housed in the archives.

The history of translation in the Caribbean is long and varied and begins in pre-colonial times when communication between generations was ensured mainly through oral traditions. In the colonial era, writing systems began to compete with the medium of oral tradition. Later, in the postcolonial era literacy and the practice of writing were firmly established. European languages and cultures have had an enormous impact on the languages they encountered in the conquered territories. In the case of Papiamentu it is clear that this Creole has an extensive and prolific history of literary writings. A brief historical view will, at relevant points, acquaint the reader with this history and its traditions.

Much of what occurred in the Caribbean during colonial times was driven by the

desire for wealth in the colonial countries and therefore for economic reasons. This in turn began the process that ultimately led to the mingling of races, cultures and identities. Circumstances were such that it was inevitable that socio-cultural formations took place in which African, Latin American and European influences joined together into a unique amalgam. While economic factors caused a new synthesis, a blending and mixing of cultures, races, rhythms, sounds and colors, they also produced social and cultural alliances and conflicts across class, gender and racial barriers. The original pre-European cultural complexity was irrevocably transfigured as European ideologies, colonial economies, political as well as religious fervor were imposed (Goslinga, 1979).

Caribbean creolization, as this process is often called, began with colonization when cultural and racial mixing led to the rise of mixed cultures and new identities, some of which included the formation of newly-spoken languages. These cultures and the creation of new hybrid languages -- Pidgins and Creoles -- form the backdrop of what may today be called Caribbean literature. Papiamentu is one of those Creoles which came to be and is still spoken on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, and increasingly also on the other three Netherlands Antilles, Saba, St. Maarten and St. Eustatius, as there has been a great amount of movement among the population of the Netherlands Antilles. Frank Martinus writes in *The Kiss of a Slave*:

> Many Windward Islanders born and bred in Aruba, and to a lesser degree also in Curaçao, where their parents worked in the islands' refineries, returned later to the islands of their parents, importing the Papiamentu they had often mastered at the level of native speakers. Furthermore, the tourism boom attracted a great many Curaçao natives to St. Maarten, reinforcing the position of Papiamentu among speakers of many other languages, principally Haitian creole and Spanish. Educational necessities and individual economic conditions have forced many Papiamentu speakers to move to Holland, creating a Papiamentu speaking community

there of more than a hundred thousand persons (Martinus 1997: 7).

In many communities, traditions and a common past are a source of cohesion. The history of the Netherlands Antilles is relatively brief and its most significant history involves a shared system of colonialism and slavery. In the late 1500's the relatively small number of native Caiquetios Indians on the islands began to be joined first by colonizing Europeans and then by Africans, who had been forced to undergo migration as part of the European slave trade. Since that time these shared economic and social systems have been repeatedly permeated by new elements of diversity. Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao have a history of internal domination by one group over another, complete with mutual struggles: struggles between Indians and the Spaniards, the Spaniards and the Dutch, the Dutch and the Africans brought to the islands.

Regardless of its relatively young age, the literature of the Netherlands Antilles is important and multifaceted. It is the multilingual product of a colonial history, during which time, after a century and a half under Spanish dominion, the Netherlands took possession of the six islands. The Netherlands captured the islands in 1634, a fact recognized in the Muenster Peace accord of 1648. The ever-blowing trade wind divides the six islands into two groupings. Although Dutch is the official language of the islands, it did not seem to take root in the unforgiving rocky soil and arid climate. Below the wind lie Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, where Papiamentu became the daily language. Above the wind where the islands of Saba, St. Maarten and St. Eustatius are, English is the language of choice. With the influence of neighbours Venezuela and Colombia, the Spanish language has long played and continues to play an important role (Rutgers 1996: 11).

On December 15, 1954, the Netherlands Antilles celebrated the Declaration of Internal Government, the Statute which shifted the right to decide on certain areas, from the Hague, the Netherlands to Willemstad, the capital of Curaçao. During World War II, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao had experienced an important cultural renaissance. The dissolving of direct ties to the motherland under the conditions of the war had freed the local communities and encouraged them to create their own cultural models, which included European models or at least reflected European influence. The turbulent upheavals of the thirtieth of May, 1969, when throngs of Black Curaçaoans decided to take matters into their own hands, and which set off vast strikes and rioting against Dutch power, led to profound socio-cultural changes. These sentiments also spilled over to Aruba and Bonaire. The new but ongoing search for independence encouraged the flourishing of Creole culture and identity. Growing political independence, and a process of what may be called the "Antilleanization" of administrative and educational entities fostered an increasing positive awareness of native language and culture.

Stuart Hall maintains that "[i]dentities are...constituted within, not outside of representation" and hence we may examine various forms of representation in an effort to see how identities are constructed. This makes the examination of literature an important task since the assumptions within collected representation become explicit in the way in which identities are portrayed which, at the same time, affect the identities depicted in the literature. Hall finds that identities relate not only to the invention of tradition, but also bear on traditions (1996: 4). In this sense, tradition is a constructed process whereby the sense of origin arises partly in imagination, even as tradition that is embedded in writings determine current identity retrospectively, where the present and future flow from the past. With this concept in mind, Caribbeans are connected not only by present practices,

but especially by their history that is implicit in these practices, especially in their writing. An important aspect in Papiamentu literature is the journey from being mere property, slave, to being cheap labour, ex-slave, to being an individual who struggles to establish an identity and finds a voice with which to claim a political, cultural and even a personal space. Caribbean literature in general, and Papiamentu literature in particular, is a testimony to that struggle.

Wim Statius van Eps recalls in *Homenahe na Raúl Römer* (Martinus *et al*, 1989) a student asking how Papiamentu came to be. It was explained to him that Papiamentu underwent a similar development to the English language and that it has a literary history. The explanation concluded that in English literature courses one learns how the English language evolved from Anglo-Saxon and also from French, the language of those who conquered England in 1066. In comparing this to the situation the slaves encountered when arriving in Curaçao, the teacher explained that they could only speak their own native African languages. The whites with whom they came in contact were for the most part Dutch and Portuguese speakers. The two parties wanted, indeed needed to understand each other. The consequence was that a new language developed, one which contained elements of all three language groups, that is, various African languages, Dutch, and Portuguese as well. This language was Papiamentu, which has its own linguistic structure and pronunciation. This process was similar to what happened in the development of English. Thus Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and French became English, while African languages, Dutch and Portuguese became Papiamentu. Of course, through the ages Papiamentu was influenced by other languages such as English, Spanish and a limited influence of Indian languages. As an example, Statius van Eps states that the Papiamentu word *shap* [bar] comes from the English word shop, but has taken on a

different semantic meaning. The Papiamentu word *yòrki* [jerky] comes from an Indian language. The Spaniards in South-America took over this word and use it as *yarque*. English also has a reminder of this word in the expression "jerked meat" (Martinus *et al* 1989: 3-4). Although this rather naive explanation served as an answer for one particular student, the process was of course much more complex, and the phenomenon of Creole genesis itself will briefly be described in the next chapter.

Literary translation is a creative, imaginative and practical craft that requires special writing and problem-solving skills. Rather than falling into a preoccupation with translation theory, this dissertation strives to reflect the nitty-gritty of the actual task of translation as such serves the role of a hands-on translation workshop. More than anything else, this study aims to generate interest in Papiamentu literature in translation to win new readership beyond immediate geographical, cultural and linguistic boundaries. Of necessity I shall focus on some selected examples, although Rosario's poem is a rather lengthy one. Whenever possible, both the original and the translation are provided. A further aim of the study is to do justice to the works presented and to capture the interest of those who reside outside the Caribbean area. The translations always endeavored to carry over as much detail as possible, without upsetting the practical balance of actually providing a translation. Thus, I expect to focus on the way the Papiamentu language is utilized in translation in a variety of genres, including Biblical texts, doctrinal/religious teaching, plays, prose, poetry, proverbs, street signage, jokes, riddles, and advertisements; in other words, the literary tradition of Papiamentu.

It may be that cultural anthropology is best able to describe what happens when different cultures meet, as this discipline is focused on intercultural practices of the past and devotes research to what people do within cultures and between cultures. Translation

is an intercultural and interlinguistic practice that necessarily includes intercultural transfer. The act of translation holds an exciting tension between creativity and fidelity, an excitement that begins with a particular text that creates such a deep impulse in the translator to want to share it with others who may not know the language of the original. This feeling, this urge, lies at the base of the work that follows. Having been introduced to the works of various Papiamentu writers, I was greatly impressed, especially as their language and literature is not much well known outside the ABC islands. The writings were not merely clever products of their craft but also showed their skill in the use of a marginal language that proves well suited to lend tone and rhythm to their creative work.

To those who might find that there are some instances where I failed to achieve equivalence, adequacy or even accuracy in these translations, my reply is that perhaps with multiple readings it will become clear why a particular turn of phrase was chosen over another, and with the assurance that my aim was always to represent the spirit of a work. The excitement that gripped me on reading Juliana, Diwan, or Rosario, was such that I was compelled to make them accessible to others, shedding as much light as possible so as to make the translation as thrilling to the reader as it had been for the translator to read the original. It must be remembered of course, that personal tastes differ; some like their coffee strong and black, others with sugar and others yet with copious quantities of cream and sugar. The same personal choices apply in relation to texts, translated or not. There could no doubt be a plurality of interpretations by means of multiple readings, all the while maintaining the quality of literary vitality intended by the creator of the original work. It is my contention that literature is an art based on imitation and that all readers are active translators even within their own language. Papiamentu will be seen to accommodate itself in poetic sentiments of empowering the expressions and

voices of the people in Papiamentu literature. By examining the folk wisdom embedded in these writings, the reader will come to understand the identity of this people, who were previously abused under colonial rule, but that later evolved to gain a new sense of freedom and confidence.

Chapter 1: Caribbean Sociolinguistics

In order to say something about the history of Papiamentu, it is beneficial to have a brief discussion of Creole genesis, which was influenced by many situational and linguistic factors. Simply stated, the origin of Creole languages came about through contact between speakers of different languages, but within specific language groups. Regarding patterns of interaction between colonizer and the colonized in the Caribbean area, Alleyne (1980) reminds us that theories of Creole origins concern not just what happened at a particular time or place, but have wider implications for various kinds of language use and for models of language change. Although these implications will be mentioned here, the focus will fall on the origin and history of Papiamentu itself.

Most languages are derived from their ancestors through an unbroken chain of normal language transmission. Each generation of speakers inherits its language from previous generations intact, with minor changes. While major changes may sometimes occur in this process, and whole new languages may arise due to conquest or death of its last remaining speakers, natural changes normally occur gradually over many centuries. Whenever there is rapid growth or decline of a language, this is mostly due to contact between different languages. Contact between people speaking different languages can have a wide variety of outcomes. In some cases only a few words are borrowed, while in others whole new languages may form. The result of such contact differs according to several factors, including the length and circumstances of the contact, the types of political, economic, religious and social situations, and the degree of similarity between the languages in contact. The social context for the genesis of the Caribbean Creoles was the Atlantic slave trade, which involved the enslavement of Africans by Europeans for

economic profit (Martinus 1997: 12-17).

Most often language contact situations are subject to conflicting forces: the need to create an effective means of communication and the need to preserve a distinct sense of group identity. Pidgins and Creoles came about through contact between linguistically diverse languages and usually in situations that provided great motivation for their speakers to communicate, very often in situations of great inequality or economic utility. This led to varying kinds of linguistic compromise that often resulted in pidgins, which were highly reduced languages with a minimal vocabulary and grammar. It must be noted that not all pidgins developed into a Creole. The broad historical explanation of pidgins and Creoles is that they are the product of European colonial expansion during the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, a collision in which colonial languages first came in contact with indigenous languages, and then with languages exported from Africa. After the conquest of the Caribbean islands, African slaves were imported to work on the plantations. This was how contact between various diverse languages was established, which in turn led to the origin, also called genesis, of diverse Creole tongues in the area. For the most part the Creole languages in the Caribbean basin are organized into three groups:

1. French-based Creoles, such as those spoken in French Guyana, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Haiti:
2. English-based Creoles, such as among others, those spoken in Jamaica, Barbados, Surinam, Trinidad, St. Kitts and St. Vincent;
3. Portuguese/Spanish-based Creole of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao

The Dutch-based Creole, called Negerhollands, was spoken in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and the Virgin Islands for about two hundred and fifty years but is now extinct. Nescio (2001)

wrote that Negerhollands originated in the 1700s, noting that it remains a curious, yet historical fact that a Creole with Dutch lexicon came into being in islands that were under Danish rule, while in Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles, both under Dutch rule, Sranan and Papiamentu were created, each with a base other than Dutch.

Mühlhäusler (1986) notes that a pidgin or a contact language arises in a multilingual situation in which those wishing to communicate must improvise a code. In such a situation the basic need to communicate will result in one kind of *lingua franca*, a trade or contact language, which pidgins often served. *Sabirs*, also sometimes referred to as *lingua francas* or jargons, are auxiliary languages of reduced lexicon and simple structures that serve as intermediary linguistic codes between speakers of differing languages. The name Sabir initially referred to a *lingua franca* composed of Arabic and Romance elements, which was spoken in the Mediterranean area (Lang, 2000). The word creole is derived form the Spanish verb *crear* and the Portuguese verb *criar*, which mean to create, raise or nurture. In Latin America and in the Caribbean especially, when applied to people or to food, it traditionally signifies as being born or created locally with no direct or indirect implication as to race.

Pidgin and Creole languages are distributed mainly in the equatorial belt around the world, usually in places with easy access to waterways such as oceans, lakes, or rivers. Consequently they are found in the Caribbean Sea and around the north and east coasts of South America, around the coasts of Africa and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Their distribution is closely related to long-standing patterns of trade, sometimes including human cargo. Hancock (1977) provides a basic survey of their distribution, a list including one hundred and seven pidgins and Creoles. Thirty-five of these, Hancock says, are English-based. These include, among others, such languages as Hawaii English

Creole, Gullah (spoken in Georgia and South Carolina), Krio (spoken in Sierra Leone), Sranan and Djuka (Spoken in Surinam) and Tok Pisin, which though English-based are not mutually intelligible. In Dominica, Guadeloupe, and Martinique many speak a French-based patois called Kwéyòl, whereas a Haitian Creole is spoken in Haiti (DeGraff, 1999).

Then there are the Portuguese-based Creoles, which include among others Saramaccan (spoken in Surinam), Senegal Creole, and Papiamentu. The last has been referred to by linguists as being either Spanish-based, Iberian-based or Portuguese-based. The Netherlands Antilles and Surinam (situated on the continent of South America), are separated by a vast distance and are very different in topography. The historical, social, economic, political and cultural developments of these two territories are very divergent, except that they were all colonized by the Netherlands. The Dutch language played a larger and more important role in the development of multilingual Surinam than it did on the Antillean islands. It was the success of the French and English conquests in the rest of the Caribbean area which initially incited the Dutch to try their luck in these territories. The first attempt by the Netherlands to establish colonies in this region dates from 1628 when the island of Tobago was captured. Several years later the Dutch established themselves in St. Maarten and Anquilla. Later, Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba were added, to be followed by the capture of St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Croix. The last one, St. Croix, did not belong permanently to the Netherlands; in the battle among the colonial powers, many islands changed hands repeatedly and were alternately Spanish, French, English, Danish, or Dutch possessions. In the end, the Netherlands maintained only the six Antillean islands: Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Maarten, and St. Eustatius (Fouse 2002: 48-49). The language most commonly spoken on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao is

Papiamentu, while English is the language most commonly used on Saba, St. Maarten, and St. Eustatius. Although the English colonized Surinam in 1651, it was ceded to the Netherlands in 1667. During the initial British period, English planters introduced the plantation system, bringing with them slaves, most of whom had already lived for some time in other colonies. Although the English contact was of short duration, it provided the main lexical input to the early forms of Sranan. Sranan stands apart from many other Creole languages because in a relatively short period of contact with its superstratum English, it was established by the time most of the English had already left and it had become in fact the *lingua franca*, eventually evolving into a stable contact vernacular (Arends *et al*, 1995). For a more detailed look at *lingua franca*, pidgins and Creoles as well as theories of their formation, I refer the reader to chapter two of *Entwisted Tongues* (Lang, 2000).

In many colonial conquests language was a key barrier and finding a common mode of communication was vital. The process of overcoming language differences in economic service was accomplished in a variety of ways. One of the most common ways was that of imposing the colonial language as the official and superior language, and declaring all existing local dialects, variants or Creoles, as inferior and subordinate. In such instances, the transmutation of identities was essentially linked to the form of linguistic imposition. Transmutational identities, through language, imply the ever-changing complex process of self definition. Meyn asks whether learning the dominant language, which in many cases was necessary to guarantee one's survival and status in the community, does not put into jeopardy the cultural and historic identity of the Creole speaker. Promoting one language to the status of official language creates a two-tiered hierarchy. Those who speak the language of lesser status will strive for acceptance and so

shun their aboriginal language, and their cultural practices, bringing confusion on their self-identity (Meyn, 1983). Sentiments about Papiamentu vary according to the authors of the various excerpts printed in local papers. Below are some examples of early articles published in newspapers dating between 1902 and 1938 that touch on the Papiamentu language, its use and the attitude of its speakers toward this Creole.

> What is Papiamentu? Probably a broken and mixed-up Spanish, that the Spaniards brought here from the province of Galicia, north of Portugal, where up to today they speak a dialect, something in between Spanish and Portuguese (*La Cruz*, 21 May, 1902).

> Papiamentu is for about three-fourths Spanish, but has deviated so much from the source-language or has lagged behind in development so much, that the source-language and the deviation do not understand each other anymore. Thus Papiamentu, although of Spanish origin, is not a dialect of Spanish, but certainly a language in its own right (Dr. G.J. Eybers, *Amigoe di Curaçao*, 9 October, 1915).

> We have a language that is alive, a language that has existed for many centuries already, a language with fixed rules, with very beautiful proverbs and its own expressions, so a language that has a future, just as any other language. [...] If our language is grouped with the African negro-languages, this does not mean that it loses its value. Which is better, a white horse or a black horse? And if we want to assert that a civilized language is always spoken by a civilized people, the present war shows the opposite (W. Hoyer, *La Cruz*, 27 October, 1915).

> Papiamentu is nothing but a corruption of the Spanish language, with words of all languages freely interrelated in its texts, as the Spaniards were the first to dwell on Curaçao (J.S. Panneflek, *La Union,* 13 July, 1923).

> Dear Reader, I imagine the origin of our blessed Papiamentu to be as follows; the mother was an Indian; unawares the Spanish stepmother came and invaded Curaçao and taught us her language. But next other nationalities came, different in language and character, that destroyed the beautiful effects of our first language of civilization (i.e. Spanish) (W. Kroon, *La Union,* 1 February, 1924).

> Papiamentu has always made the impression on me of being a simplified Spanish, despite hollandized words and other words of known Portuguese origin or of unknown origin (Indian or African?). And this, I think, is the impression most people have who know Spanish and that come in touch with Papiamentu for the first time (R. Dellaert, *La Union*, 2 May, 1938).

Another article in the newspaper *La Cruz* of 1902, with the aim of validating Papiamentu as a language in its own right, included an exhortation to the government to protect and to nurture this language along with its literature and culture. It reads as follows:

> Nos idioma ta un lenga, koe tin un porvenir meskos koe cualkier otro lenga...Pues un gobierno tin ku practica, wel protega literatura i su lenga; i nos idioma no ta un dialecto ma un lenga propio (*La Cruz*, 18 juni, 1902).

> Our idiom is a language, that has a future the same as any other language...So a government ought to practice protecting the literature and its language; and our idiom is not a dialect, but a proper language.

The high point of the discussion of Papiamentu came in 1915 with a flood of articles in the newspapers *Amigoe*, *La Cruz*, and *De Vrijmoedige*. An article by Father Paulus Poeisz states the following:

> In die taal heeft de Katholieke Kerk het volk opgevoed. Daarin wordt gepreekt, biecht gehoord, gebeden, gezongen, katechismus gegeven. In die taal worden dikwijls toneelstukken opgevoerd, boekjes geschreven. In die taal verschijnt elke week een Courant, die door het geheele volk gelezen wordt. Is dat alles geen cultuur? Nu de deftige Curaçaosche families, die het Papiamentsch gebruiken van de wieg tot het graf, en die hun lief en leed uitdrukken met een klaarheid en kracht, die wij hun in 't Hollandsch niet zullen verbeteren. Ook van hen geldt hetzelfde dilemma. Een van de twee; Ofwel deze families bezitten geen "*beschaafde en ontwikkelende mentaliteit*" en dat is een grove belediging. Ofwel het Papiamentsch dat hun tot conversatietaal dient, is wel degelijk een cultuurtaal (*Amigoe*, October 23, 1915).

> The Catholic Church has instructed the people in that language. In that language they preach, listen to confessions, pray, sing, give catechism lessons. In that language they present plays, write books. In that language they produce every week a newspaper that is read by the whole community. Is all of this not culture? Now, the dignified Curaçaoan families use Papiamentu from the cradle to the grave, and they use it to express their love and pain with a clarity and force that we would not be able to better even in Dutch. Also for them there exists a dilemma. One of the two choices; Or these families do not possess a "cultured and developed mentality" and that is a grave insult. Or Papiamentu which serves them as conversational language, is truly a language of culture.

In sociolinguistic terms Creole languages have arisen through contact between speakers of diverse languages. The contact first produces a pidgin. When that pidgin becomes nativized, namely that it acquires native speakers and becomes the language of a community, it becomes a Creole. The process of creolization may occur at any stage of a pidgin when it develops from a mere trade language or jargon to an expanded pidgin, or Creole. Often this happens under drastic circumstances. Some of these are related by Morgan Dalphinus; he writes:

> From the moment the first African was enslaved by Europeans in Africa, a new relationship was forced upon peoples of African descent everywhere...Africans speaking related languages of the Niger-Congo language family (in Western and Southern Africa) were taken to the Caribbean. Their mother tongues were suppressed through a system of dividing the speakers of the same languages, to make slave revolts more difficult, and a related system of punishments for using an African language included death, the whip, the chain gang, etc. Despite this system, the Africans preserved the common grammatical core from their related African mother tongues and expressed these grammatical relationships, using the only vocabulary permissible with their respective slave societies, i.e. European language vocabulary (Dalphinus 1985: 1).

In due course children who are raised in a pidgin-speaking milieu may grow up speaking the pidgin as their maternal language, and when this happens, their language must change

and expand to meet their needs. Creoles are not imperfectly learned standard languages, nor are they the consequence of mere processes of simplification, or what some refer to as "foreigner talk" or "baby talk." Rather, Creoles arise as contact languages under very specific social and economic circumstances, as explained by Moreno Fernández :

> Cuando el uso del pidgin se prolonga y estabiliza, dando lugar a una comunidad de habla y a hablantes que adquieren la variedad como lengua materna, se convierte en una lengua criolla. Ejemplos de criollo serían el papiamento de Curazao y el chabacano de Filipinas (derivados del español), el criollo de Cabo Verde y el de Santo Tomé, en el golfo de Guinea (derivados del portugués), el criollo de Haití y de la Guyana Francesa (derivados de francés) o el criollo jamaicano o el tok pisin, de Nueva Guinea (derivados del inglés) (Moreno Fernández 1998: 278-79).

> When the use of the pidgin becomes more prolonged and establishes itself, giving rise to a speech community and acquires speakers who use this variety as a maternal language, the pidgin turns into a Creole language. Examples of Creole languages would be Papiamentu of Curaçao and Chabacano of the Philippines (derived from Spanish), the Creole of the Cape Verdes and of Sao Tomé, in the Gulf of Guinea (derived from Portuguese), the Creole of Haiti and of French Guyana (derived from French) or the Jamaican Creole or Tok Pisin of New Guinea (derived from English.

Robert Hall mentions that while pidgins do not enjoy any degree of social esteem, when they become creolized into normal languages by expansion of syntactical structure, vocabulary and standardized orthography, "a creole is just as intimately bound up with the egos of its native speakers as is any other language" (1966: 130). Nevertheless, a Creole is frequently the object of strong contempt and social prejudice, *vis-à-vis* the dominating European language, thereby casting upon its native speakers deep-seated insecurities. The resulting situation of diglossia, the use of different languages in different institutional sectors and in diverse social situations, often means being torn between two

languages, and accordingly affects the shaping of the identity of Creole speakers. Lang calls this the "diglossic dilemma" and explains it as "a situation where two or more language varieties coexist but have different functions within a society" (2000: 143). Creoles that evolved in a situation where one language might have more power because of its link to an established language may have been composed of superstrate languages or the dominant colonial language. Substrate languages are those various languages of Africans and Amerindians who were subjugated by Europeans. It is generally accepted that Creoles consist of a superstrate lexicon (vocabulary) and a substrate structure (syntax). Thus, a Creole like Papiamentu may plausibly consist mostly of a European vocabulary, with a syntax derived from influences of the subjugated people's language (in this case the imported African slave population).

Theories of Creole genesis can be roughly divided into two groups: substrate theories and universalist ones. Substrate theories claim that the grammatical features of Creoles come from the languages that were native to the slave population. Universalist theories maintain that the grammatical characteristics of all languages are native to the human mind. However, most creolists tend to believe that these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive (Mufwene, 1990). Graphic but explicit is Lang's statement regarding Creole genesis: "In fact, it could be argued that genesis is a kind of black hole from which no illuminating information can emerge, or to shift metaphors, that its chaotic nature precludes any determination of cause and effect" (2000: 13). Below is a brief overview of the more well-known Creole genesis theories.

Monogenetic Theory:

The theory of monogenesis suggests that all present-day European language-

based Creoles derived from a single source, a proto-pidgin with a Portuguese superstrate, which was used by the Portuguese in their trading expeditions to India, West Africa, and the Far East. According to this theory, Creole languages began in Africa from a presumed Afro-Portuguese pidgin, which consisted of Portuguese and African elements. It seems highly unlikely that a large group of slaves stored below decks on the slave ships, and addressed in sharply shouted commands in a foreign tongue (to most of them), would have had the time and opportunity in the crossing to learn a complete Portuguese proto-pidgin.

Monogenesis is defended by Navarro Tomás (1953), Valkhoff (1958), Martinus Arion (1990) as well as McWhorter (1997). They put forth the theory that African slaves were indeed brought from the interior and the coast of Africa, but that they were housed for long periods while awaiting deployment in forts where they learned to communicate with others. Portuguese was the language of the settlers, the initial white colonizers on the coast of Africa, as well as the crew on board the slave ships. This Afro-Portuguese jargon was transported to the colonies and, according to the defenders of the monogenetic theory, is the basis of all Creole languages. Rona (1971) attributes the relatively large number of words adopted from Portuguese to the Portuguese origin of Papiamentu as well as to the important role in the history of Curaçao of the Sephardic Jews, the majority of whom spoke Portuguese. In *The Kiss of a Slave* (1997) Frank Martinus Arion presents evidence for a Proto-Afro-Portuguese Creole theory. An important tool he used in constructing this theory and for linking Papiamentu to the African Guene language is the wealth of information collected by Father Brenneker. This collection numbers 1400 items, of which over sixty percent contain Guene words. This Zikinza collection, as it is called, is presently in the care of the Department of Culture of the island of Curaçao

(Martinus 1996: 267). Martinus argues that Papiamentu can be traced back to the Cape Verde Islands. He was heavily influenced by a visit to Cape Verde Islands where he was surprised to find a similarity between Cape Verdean people and those of Curaçao. He was even more surprised by the similarities between Cape Verdean Creole and Papiamentu (7, 221).

Polygenetic Theory

The theory of polygenesis holds that pidgins and Creoles have a variety of origins and have different bases and that any similarities among them arise from the shared circumstances of their origins. According to this theory, once the introductory phase or the actual genesis of the particular Creole has been completed, the base continues to be that of the first European language. For example, the Seychelle Islands were conquered by France and later ceded to England in 1814 through the Treaty of Paris; and the island of Dominica is not a French island but an English one. Nevertheless, the base of the Creole language spoken in these territories is French, mixed with American and African elements (Joubert, 2000). There are some linguists who insist that Spanish and other dialects of Spain form the basis of Papiamentu. Antoine Maduro (1987), for example, attributes the large quantity of Spanish words in Papiamentu to the Spanish occupation of the islands (1499-1634), the work of Spanish missionaries, family ties, and to the intensive economic dealing with Latin America.

African Sub-Stratum Theory

This theory states that pidgins and Creoles retain characteristics of their ancestral African languages. According to this theory, African slaves were often multilingual,

speaking different languages of similar structure but with different lexicons. These slaves used Portuguese, English, and French in whichever way that suited them. In this sense the pidgins and Creoles were European language based and were newly created in different places at the same time; what commonalities they exhibited were owing to the substrate African element. Substratists tend to have Afrocentric ideology.

Language Bioprogram Theory

Bickerton (1984), with whom this theory is often associated, notes that Creoles, at least those in the Caribbean, are very different from expanded pidgins. He believes that features in Creoles are attributable to an innate "bioprogram" of linguistic competence, which is triggered by extreme social conditions. The genesis of a Creole, according to Bickerton, represents attempts by children to learn a rudimentary pidgin as their native language and, finding it not functionally sufficient, they begin innately to substitute correct syntax and grammar. Bickerton, a universalist, espouses the notion that Creoles are born of a process that reveals the default syntax inherent in the mind.

It is clear that more research is needed to account for the genesis and development of Creole languages so as to address questions such as whether internal developmental processes observable in creolization are different in nature and scope from those which operate in the evolution of "normal" or natural language. In this regard it is also important to combat popular misconceptions that pidgins and Creoles are less than normal languages or at worst debasements, monkey language, slave language, or the language of the uneducated. To assign a status to Creoles that is less than desirable is to destroy the self-image of their speakers. Showcasing works by authors of the Caribbean who write in Creole is one way to demonstrate that these languages are fully capable of

sustaining a literature.

Lang links the Caribbean Creoles to non-Caribbean Creoles like *Caboverdiano* and Papua New Guinea's Tok Pisin, because they all share historical events and some linguistic traits. Instead of dwelling on the differences between various Creoles, Lang concentrates on the many similarities they display. A striking example of similarities in Creoles whose origin no one doubts has some Africanisms embedded in them, is found in some of the proverbs Lang mentions in *Entwisted Tongues*. Although obviously from different Creoles, the proverbs are mutually unintelligible to the speakers of Jamaican, Kreyol, Papiamentu, and Sranan, yet seemingly come from the same source and mean the same thing (2000: 105):

> *Cockroach nebber right.* (Jamaican)
> *Ravet pa jamm gen rezon dovan poul.* (Kreyol)
> *Na tera di galinja kakalaka no tin boz.* (Papiamentu)
> *Kakraka no ha reti na fowru mofo.* (Sranan)

The following example is included here to show similarities in the lexicon of several languages. These examples contain the terms used for the first six months of the year in eight languages (De Groot 1977: 25 and augmented by me):

Haitian	Papiamentu	Spanish	English
janvié	yanüari	enero	January
février	februari	febrero	February
mas	mart	marzo	March
avril	aprel	abril	April
mé	mei	mayo	May
jin	yüni	junio	June

Dutch	French	Portuguese	Saramaccan
januari	janvier	janeiro	jái-líba
februari	février	fevereiro	báka-jáa-líba
maart	mars	março	gáan-líba
april	avril	abril	pikí deé-wéi-liba
mei	mai	majo	sébi-taa-líba
juni	juin	junho	hondima-líba

So far there seems to be no resolving the debate surrounding Creole genesis. Writing about the continual controversial arguments by experts such as McWhorter and Bickerton regarding Afrogenetic résumés, Lang states: "Reading McWhorter's and Bickerton's scenarios side-by-side is a bracing experience, albeit one inducing a sense of conceptual gridlock, so irreconcilable and yet separately persuasive they are" (2000: 83).

The mother tongue of the vast majority of the ABC islands is Papiamentu, a grammatically African-structured Creole language with a Portuguese/Spanish lexicon, supplemented by English and Dutch words. This Afro-Portuguese Creole is said by the monogeneticists to have developed originally as a *lingua franca* in the slave camps in West Africa where the Portuguese had set up holding camps. A very brief foray into Papiamentu grammar will give the reader a glimpse into the structure of this Creole. For a more extensive look into the sound system and syntax of Papiamentu, the reader is advised to consult works cited in the bibliography, among others, Raul Römer, Sidney Joubert, Mario Dijkhoff, Frank Martinus Arion, Marta Dijkhoff, Enrique Muller and Antoine Maduro.

While Rodolfo Lenz was the first to note the linguistic aspects of Papiamentu in 1928, several other linguists have researched this language, notably Orlando Ferrol, Dan Munteanu, Eva Eckkrammer, and Silvia Kouwenberg to name but a few. Mikael Parkvall (2000) lists several other African languages such as Bantu, Kwa, Abri, Delto-Bernic,

Gbe, Ewe, Yoruba, Kisi, and Wolof all of which may have contributed substrate sources in the formation of Papiamentu (2000: 119). In *Homenahe na Raúl Römer* one finds some impressively detailed linguistic work done on Papiamentu. For example, there is the description of velar /n/ in final position becoming nasalized except in new words. Thus *sen* [cent] is pronounced with a nasalized final /n/, while a relatively new word like *pen* [pen] retains its velar final /n/. The subjunctive in Papiamentu is used in the present tense if it is conditional.

Si e bini... [Should he come..] *Si e ta bini

Reduplication for emphasis sake is very common in Papiamentu:

Ta kome, mi ta kome. [I'm just eating].
E kura ta pèche-pèche. [The yard is very muddy].

In this context, it would be interesting to do a study on metathesis in Papiamentu. For example, the verb *skupi* is said to come from the Dutch verb *spugen* [to spit]. One may well wonder when and under what circumstances metathesis would occur, and if the verbs *skirbi* [to write], *drumi* [to sleep], *laga* [to leave] and a host of others that occur in their written form in a variety of spelling have also undergone metathesis. The following is a short comparison of the verb inflection of the Papiamentu verb *drumi* [to sleep] with the corresponding Dutch verb *slapen*.

Dutch	Papiamentu
ik slaap	mi ta drumi
jij slaapt	bo ta drumi
hij slaapt	e ta drumi
wij slapen	nos ta drumi
jullie slapen	boso ta drumi
zij slapen	nan ta drumi

From this example it is clear that the Dutch verb *slapen* has three forms (*slaap, slaapt,*

slapen) independent of the pronoun which precedes it, while the Papiamentu verb *drumi* (in its infinitive form) remains the same throughout. Comparing the same verb with the Spanish verb *dormir*, it becomes clear that there are many changes, not only in the verb endings, but also within the verb stem (o-ue). Finally, when comparing this verb with the English verb one notes that it displays only two changes (sleep and sleeps).

Papiamentu	English	Dutch	Spanish
mi ta drumi	I sleep	ik slaap	duermo
bo ta drumi	you sleep	jij slaapt	duermes
e ta drumi	he sleeps	hij slaapt	duerme
nos ta drumi	we sleep	wij slapen	dormimos
boso ta drumi	you sleep	jullie slapen	dormís
nan ta drumi	they sleep	zij slapen	duermen

In the past there was some contention that since Papiamentu displays no verb changes, it must not be a real language, or at best an inferior one. In English the verb undergoes but one change, yet no one would hazard to suggest that English is grammatically an inferior language to Spanish. While these verb forms differ in the languages presented in the example, it is abundantly clear that they contain the same function and that *bo ta drumi* = you sleep = *jij slaapt* = *duermes* all mean the same. The difference lies in that the concept "you sleep" needs but one verb form in Spanish, while it needs two each in Dutch and English and three in Papiamentu. Jan Schroten (1983), in an abstract entitled, "On a Typological Difference Among Languages" points out that Papiamentu has no verbal inflection, but only aspect markers such as **ta** (progressive) and **a** (perfective) and that subject deletion is impossible, due to the absence of number-person inflection. (It must be noted that starred sentences are not grammatically correct, and are thus not allowed).

a. (Papiamentu) Mi ta bini. *Ta bini.
I (progressive) come.
(English) I am coming; I come.

b. (Papiamentu) Mi a bini. *A bini.
I (perfective) come.
(English) I have come; I did come; I came.

Silvia Kouwenberg and Peter Muysken's article "Papiamento" (Arends *et al*, 1995) provides a further glimpse into Papiamentu giving examples of Papiamentu advertisements from a popular daily newspaper. The advertisements point out the use of English and Dutch loan words (See Appendix I for more advertisement examples that have been taken from old issues of newspapers *Extra*, *Diario*, *Bon Dia Aruba*, *Matutino Diario* and *Amigoe*).

The fact that many loan words appear in Papiamentu should not be a matter of concern. The English language has incorporated loan words from more than one hundred and twenty different languages, among them, Latin, Scandinavian languages, Italian, and French. More than half of the English lexicon consists of French loan words, yet no one would argue that English is a bastard offspring of French (Putte 1999: 81). Joubert (1991) cites some cases in which the loan words from English have rather bizarre spelling in Papiamentu. As examples he gives: *èpeldjus* [apple juice], *chòkletsheik* [chocolate shake], and *krimchis* [cream cheese].

Another feature of Papiamentu is the cultivation of the tonal aspect. This tonal aspect is said to come from its African heritage and is representative of the beat of Afro-Antillean musical rhythms inherent in the dances of the islands. While many scholars agree on the Spanish origin of Papiamentu (Wood, 1972; DeBose, 1975; Ferol, 1982; Anderson, 1990) they are not able to explain the presence of what others believe are the tonal distinctions in Papiamentu. Rivera-Castillo (1998), argues however, that there are some Portuguese-based West African Creoles like Angolar, Sâo Tomense, and

Principense that exhibit tonal distinctions at the lexical level (Rivera-Castillo 1998: 298). It is not the intent of this dissertation to find a solution to the manifestation of the supra-segmental system in Papiamentu. Suffice it to note that this supra-segmental system also exists in many other languages, depending on the particular meaning ascribed to a word in that particular context and situation. For instance, in the sit-com *Friends*, Chandler is wont to say: "That is so *nót* right!", yet this does not mean that English displays a supra-segmental system, but only uses this feature to accent a meaning. Yolanda Rivera-Castillo (1998) describes and explains the tonal and stress features of Papiamentu and argues that these features provide important insights on the genesis of Creole systems in which these supra-segmental elements are phonologically noteworthy.

The classical Latin language model was based on conjugations, declensions, and case endings. These features were often equated with grammars of superior languages. Such thinking then deduces that any language which does not display the same kind of grammatical changes must be inferior. Using this same reasoning, the English language which also does not utilize many verb form changes, may unrightfully be charged as being a language with very little grammar. Since in Papiamentu there are also few changes in verb conjugation, it was assumed in the past, and by some of its speakers to this very day, that Papiamentu has a very limited grammar. In 1970, John Birmingham wrote that Papiamentu may indeed have minimal word form changes, but he emphasized that the language does indeed have steadfast rules (In Putte 1999: 43). It is but a small step to link the relative lack of grammar to the conception that Papiamentu is not a language at all, but merely a dialect. Some even made a larger leap in noting that Papiamentu might be "schadelijk voor het verstand der kinderen" [harmful to children's intelligence] (Putte, 43). It may be that these perceived feelings of the inferiority of

Papiamentu has caused its speakers to have issues with self-identity, as language often serves a symbol of identity for its speakers. Indeed the social value of a Creole like Papiamentu is that it constitutes a symbol of group identity, of togetherness. Brigitte Schultze writes about language:

> As a rule, language itself is considered the basis of cultural identity and also the basic vehicle of a person's sense of cultural identity. This sense may also be linked to a religious creed, a social order, to political structures and traditions, to specific events and persons in a national history and so forth (Schultze 1991: 94).

Papiamentu is spoken by 83% of the population of Curaçao **(Table 1)**. As such it is the majority language, but is defined as a minority language in the sociological rather than in the numerical sense.

Table 1. Language Most Spoken at Home

Language	%
Papiamentu	83.2
Dutch	8.6
English	3.6
Spanish	3.1
Other languages	1.5
Total	100

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (1996), *Census 1996*.

Although the majority speaks Papiamentu, Curaçao is a predominantly monolingual society with a constant influx of two foreign languages: Spanish and English; the former because of the proximity of the continent, and the latter because of the media and tourism. Radio and television stations from Venezuela can be received clearly in Curaçao, and many books and magazines in Spanish are sold. Dutch is seldom heard in the streets even though it has been the official language of Curaçao since the Dutch took

control of the islands. Dutch is spoken at home by only 8.6 % of the population, yet it is taught in the schools as if it were the mother tongue of students. Most of the books in the libraries, text books and important government documents are written in Dutch. English is widely used in tourism and commerce. It is spoken at home by 3.6% of the population and is a major school subject. The English influence enters primarily through television channels such as CNN and of course by means of US movies. Spanish, the language of the original discoverers is spoken at home by 3.1% of the population, while 1.5% of the population speaks languages other than the ones mentioned above at home; these include among others, Portuguese, German, Chinese and French. Spanish is one of the important foreign languages taught in the schools.

Heinz Kloss (1967) coined the initial distinction between *Ausbau* languages (languages by extension; distinct languages by development) and *Abstand* Languages (languages by distance; distinct languages by inherent distance). Kloss explains that *Ausbau* languages are languages that have been developed from another language. While they are languages in their own right, they may be close to some other language and may even be mutually intelligible. The classic case of Dutch and German come to mind. While genetically speaking these languages are clearly related, they have been raised to their present state as two separate standard languages. Peter Trudgill (1992) calls this distinction "*Ausbau* sociolinguistics." *Abstand* languages are so classified because of their distance from other languages. There is no close relative with which they may be confused. In Europe, for example, Basque is often mentioned as an example of an *Abstand* language, as it is totally different and genetically unrelated to languages spoken in the surrounding area, and thus could never be regarded as a "distant cousin" of any other language. As Papiamentu bears a striking resemblance in phonology and

vocabulary to Romance languages, one might opt for classifying it as an *Ausbau* language, an offshoot of another similar language. However, syntactically Papiamentu does not fit on a linguistic continuum of Romance languages, thus one must concede that it lies closer to an *Abstand* language than it does to an *Ausbau* language. The category of *Ausbau* links Papiamentu genetically to the nearby Spanish language. Papiamentu is a close-knit language rather than a diffuse language, because the language is contained mostly in a relatively small area, regardless of the distance between the ABC islands. With its spread to the other Antilles and to the Netherlands, this classification may change in the future.

Looking at the status of Papiamentu in relation to official Dutch, it is apparent that Papiamentu is the majority language, but it is not recognized legally as an official language **(Table 2)**.

Table 2 Language Status, Presence and Legal Status

Language	Status	Presence	Legal Status
Papiamentu	Low	Large Majority	Not Official
Dutch	High	Small Minority	Official

Source: *Ministry of Education, 1986.*

Proposals to legalize Papiamentu as the majority language as well as the official language have still not been approved. Despite the prolific production of literature, radio and TV broadcasts in Papiamentu, coupled with the fact that general communication in all strata of society in Curaçao is in Papiamentu, it is not legally recognized. Papiamentu is considered by many as a Low Status language and as such, not a requirement for obtaining social, economic, or cultural success. However, in recent years subtle changes can be noted. There is an effort to teach children how to write and produce literature in

Papiamentu with cash prizes for successful contestants and is thus officially supported. The *Fundashon di Planifikashon di Idioma* [The Language Planning Agency] is but one institution among others that facilitates translations from foreign texts into Papiamentu. School texts in Papiamentu are becoming more pleasing to the eye and are used in conjunction with CD's and videos in Papiamentu teaching. The University of the Netherlands Antilles recently began a Master's Program using Papiamentu as the language of instruction. Papiamentu is now spoken in Parliamentary proceedings. There are bilingual road signs. Five of the seven newspapers published in Curaçao are in Papiamentu and there are many TV programs in Papiamentu and yet...the Dutch prestige language exerts pressure on Papiamentu in that it is the one holding the purse strings of education. Curaçaoan Joceline Clemencia who is sharply critical of the state of education on the islands comments as follows:

> Measured on its output Curaçaoan education is in its present form a "by the government subsidized institutionalized crime", kept alive with trained professionals and victimizing yearly thousands of young people. Considering that of the 145.000 inhabitants of Curaçao, 52.333 or 36% rank between 0-19 years, one can estimate the enormous damage done to the population...To strive for the development of a country, especially a developing country, without investing in education, means to strive for no development. Let us hope that the approaching fin du siècle will also mean the end of this outdated and paralyzing situation (Clemencia 1992: 5).

As can be seen, Clemencia is a strong voice in what was a largely lethargic arena of politicians who were content to let the Mother Country keep on funding education and thus dictate how that funding is to be spent. Fortunately there are recent changes in the political arena that are beginning to moderate and correct this. Marta Dijkhoff, a linguist from Curaçao and the Minister of Education for the Netherlands Antilles during the 1990s, has become a strong advocate of the view that decisions pertaining to Antillean

education ought to be made in the Antilles and not in the Netherlands. Her efforts to see Papiamentu implemented as the language of instruction in primary schools put her in direct conflict not only with school boards, but also with locals, many of whom saw these plans as interfering with their goals to have their offspring receive higher education in the Netherlands. The Dutch government offers subsidies for students from the islands to continue their study in the Netherlands, while those who prefer to study elsewhere do not receive any subsidies.

Inevitably, when discussing the situation of Papiamentu we are led to postcolonial thinkers like Homi Bhaba. In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhaba encourages a rethinking of nationalism, representation, and resistance that stress the hybridity that characterized colonial situations. He calls this a "liminal" space in which cultural differences articulate and produce constructions of cultural and national identity. This liminal space is a hybrid site in which one can witness the production of cultural meaning and which occupies a space between competing cultural traditions and historical periods. According to Bhabha, this "third space" is an ambivalent, hybrid one that is written and forced into existence. Bhabha views writing as a productive way of showcasing the differences between cultures, cultures of difference, and diversity.

Bhabha makes a distinction between cultural diversity and cultural difference. He is working within a linguistic framework, arguing that culture, like a mind, is structured as language is, and hence can be read as a system of signs and signifiers, bringing culture into the realm of the performative. Culture is thus perceived as a fluctuating system of meaning and is always in a state of enunciation and reception. Cultural difference, on the other hand, is the proclamation of culture, which exists in the interplay and creation of difference. Cultural diversity exists as authoritative texts on culture, whereas cultural

difference is the space which includes all the conditions of possibilities for the creation of culture. Bhabha states:

> Cultural diversity is an epistemological object - culture as an object of empirical knowledge - whereas cultural difference is the process of the enunciation of culture as 'knowledgeable', authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification. If cultural diversity is a category of comparative ethics, aesthetics or ethnology, cultural difference is a process of signification through which statements *of* culture or *on* culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability, and capacity (Bhabha 1994: 34).

Without denying the violence inherent in colonial rule, the signs and meanings of a cultural artifact may become misinterpreted in the other culture; the meaning behind an individual sign is not automatically transparent and may become reinterpreted into a sign that hardly resembles the old meaning. Bhabha writes: "It is this difference in the process of language that is crucial to the production of meaning and ensures, at the same time, that meaning is never simply mimetic and transparent" (36).

Douglas Taylor quotes Maurice Freedman in stating that '[a] language is at once a partial index of a culture to an outsider and a selective meta-language in which a community can express some but not all of their social and cultural life" (Taylor 1977: 3). Taylor argues that the culture of a people is best understood in the everyday language of its speakers. Looking thus in depth at writings produced by various Creole speakers will bring to light their sense of social and cultural identity. The notion of cultural identity has always been an intriguing property of human society. The product of the convergence of discursive restraints and essentially a function of language, identity encompasses established schemes of social order. At the centre of this framework of cultural economies and culturally intelligible languages lies the body, a sort of permeable

membrane between internal and external, which serves as the point of identity production and reproduction.

Culture is generally understood as signifying the way of life of a people. However, the term can be interpreted in various ways. Accordingly the term culture is an extremely broad, all-encompassing concept that refers to no less than all of the various aspects of the way of life of a people. With this in mind, Papiamentu literature may well be seen as an ideological practice of a national struggle, emerging from cultural relations in which new forms of personal, national, and popular identity are constituted. The thirtieth of May, 1969, saw the beginning of a new way of thinking. The objectives of the uprising were democratic and included the overthrow of the rule of the dominant colonial power. What was sought after was to install representation of the "working class" in government, representing "all" social classes, creation of a people's culture, and economic reconstruction. Ethnic revivalists renewed interest in culture and adherence to traditions in an effort not unlike that of museum curators, focusing on conservation, preservation, and restoration of perceived and imagined past customs. Literature such as Guillermo Rosario's *Mi Nigrita Papiamentu* reflects this thinking and intention.

One way to look at cultural traditions is to analyze them through texts. Poetry can be a powerful tool in negotiation of ethnicity. It provides a means by which people recognize identity. Ethnicity is frequently used as a powerful tool in the development or (re)construction of identity. Indeed, the construction or maintenance of a distinct identity is often one of the main goals of ethnic groups. A distinction can be made between behavioral and symbolic identity. Behavioral ethnic identity consists of "outward expressions, such as being able to speak a heritage language (Kallin & Berry 1994: 306). Symbolic ethnic identity involves knowledge of and pride in one's origin, but does not

necessarily include behavioral expression of that identity (Gans 1979). Orving (1994) contrasts concepts of individual identity, personal identity and collective identity. It is this last one I focus on, those aspects of personal identity that are derived from experiences and expressions common to a group. Peressini (1991) contends that several social identities may be held simultaneously by one individual. The works of the authors featured in this dissertation, not only Antilleans, but Dutch citizens of a multi-faceted plural society in the Caribbean, address questions of identity. At the same time I have attempted to illustrate how historical developments inform the choices made by these writers, and provided them with avenues with which to draw on traditions. There is a process of selection for cultural items which are considered significant identifiers for a people. They can serve both as a link to the cultural past and as catalysts for new ideas and new cultural practices. These writers appropriate cultural activities and use them as components of the reconstruction of ethnic culture.

In order to be a person, one naturally must possess an inner awareness of self. This inner awareness is expressed in language. The relationship between language and language user must have consequences for the perception of identity itself, for it is a concept both conceived and expressed in a variety of ways including linguistic terms. Through the use of polemic terms such as self and other, the language of identity establishes a binary significance, which emphasize identity and difference. Self and other represent the two fundamental poles in the relationship of a society and between the individual and the group. Naturally, writings produced in such circumstances would not be intelligible to those outside that particular language. This is where the role of the translator becomes significant. The translator becomes a mediator who can facilitate understanding between culturally and linguistically different groups.

Some authors have turned to ways of expressing past events not merely as a historical narrative, but as a source of artistic and literary creation, as ways of exploring the dynamic interplay between past and present, and the historical, social, economic, and political identities at the individual and collective levels. Looking at texts in translation of a particular group, one can begin to understand what moved these authors to create their literary texts. Three selections will be examined here which particularly attest to the national feelings of those speaking Papiamentu; the national hymn of Aruba, *Aruba Patria*, the national song of Curaçao, *Himno di Kòrsou*, as well as the national hymn of Bonaire, *Himno Bonaireano.* These songs can be viewed as specific statements about the ways in which composers, authors, visual artists, and poets are seeking to work through past experiences which remain at some level problematic in their history and cultural memory. Investigating how one understands what is said is obviously influenced by our individual and cultural assumptions and experiences. The result of this investigation is a deeper understanding and appreciation of the complexity and expressive elegance of language in general and of Papiamentu in particular.

While it is accepted that identity is formed by exclusion and polar difference, it is not the only way to think of the construction of identity. "Otherness" can exist and help determine the inherent contingencies of identity. The formation of a contingent identity is more than an identity formed at random and accidental occurrences. It is an identity that has often been formed through an occurrence, a trauma, that is a part of every identity and the language which brings it into representation. Theories on trauma, exemplified by Cathy Caruth (1995) and Dominick La Capra (1994), argue that episodes in the past have a collective function to take hold of and shape subsequent identity formation of a people. Dominick La Capra, in *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory and Trauma*, writes

about the state of historical writing and thinking and engages in a psychoanalytical discussion of proper contextual descriptions combined with critical self-reflection. Reconstruction of a mythical past can be and often is an important aspect of ethnic romanticism which allows people to reconnect to a common heritage. For the Antillean, prose and poetry are ways to broaden the cultural knowledge of Afro-Antillean lives, and to valorize the periphery in which they exist.

The role of memory in the (re)construction of individual or collective identities has been the focus of many recent studies. The dialogue between a remembered past, which may or may not be factual, and the present necessarily inscribes itself into the cultural practices one espouses. The role of the power structure in control also contributes largely to the relationship between the spaces of a cultural memory and the restructured identity of an individual or a collective group. This often comes coupled with historical revisions and changes in conception or reinterpretations of key periods in history that pertain to a particular group or nation. The fact remains that historical reconstruction in the Caribbean takes as its goal the retrieval of collective memory, inevitably recreating local versions of world history.

The literatures from these islands reflect the multiplicity of language with different languages being accented during various periods. Before written literature there was oral "literature" complete with songs, stories, and proverbs, some of which are still sung, told, or recited in Papiamentu. Isidore Okpewho (1992) writes that oral literature is also known by scholars as "orature, traditional literature, folk literature, and folklore" (1992: 2-3). Oral literature implies that it is "literature delivered by word of mouth" while "orature" emphasizes the oral character of that literature. While it is logical to assume that Antillean orature is older than its literature, at no point should it be assumed that

once literacy began, it continued exclusively in its written form. Antillean orature is still being practiced. Rutgers writes:

> By specifieke gelegenheden voorzagen specialisten in de behoeften van het collectieve geheugen van de orale maatschappij. Hun recitaties hadden een encyclopedish, recreatief en normerend karakter, dat ze verwoordden door middel van ritmische, akoestische en semantische herhaling, door gebruik te maken van melodie en dans, en door via de aangename vertelling het nuttige te brengen aan de luisterende group die actief respondeerde (Rutgers 1996:16).

> On special occasions, selected officials would meet the demands of the collective memory of the oral society. Their recitations were of an encyclopedic, recreational and moralizing nature, which was expressed through rhythmic, acoustic and semantic repetition, through the use of melody and dance, and by passing on useful information to the listening and actively responding group by means of pleasant narration.

Well-known Curaçaoan author Elis Juliana considers the *cantica di ocho dia* [song of eight days], which is sung during a wake, as belonging to the beginning stages of the Papiamentu orature. Rutgers quotes Cola Debrot who writes about orature "dat zij het onderbewustzijn tot in zijn diepste lagen bevolkt en deswege de harten op een mysterieuze "unheimische" wijze beroert, die zich aan redelijke verklaaringen onttrekt" [that it touches the subconscious on the deepest levels and thus stirs the hearts in a mysteriously "uncanny" manner, that is inexplicable] (18).

There are various examples dating to the latter half of the eighteenth century that testify to the use of Papiamentu not only in the poorer sectors of the population, but also in the most important homes. The now famous letter of a Jewish merchant to his mistress, the Pietermaai letter of 1776, is written entirely in Papiamentu. Antoine Maduro, a Curaçaoan historian of Papiamentu, was able to provide a linguistic commentary on the

letter. He also discovered two legal declarations in Portuguese and Papiamentu dated January 16, 1776, which have direct bearing on this mysterious letter. His search led him to discover the identity of the writer, Abraham da Costa Andrade Jr., as well as that of the addressee, Sara de Ishac Pardo e Vaz Farro (Wood, 1972).

The Papiamentu language spread through colonization from Curaçao to Aruba and Bonaire. Rutgers asks if the songs and stories on the islands also date from slave times on the islands or if they are from much older origin and if so, asks how they came to exist on the islands. He recounts that the African culture accounts for specific professional storytellers also called *griots*. Were some of them also captured during the raids to get slaves and were they subsequently transported to the Caribbean area? And did they, once in their new surroundings, again take up their special calling of story teller? Rutgers explains that until now our knowledge in this area has been scarce and that most of what is known concerns the island of Curaçao. Should one assume that these same findings account for what happened in Aruba and Bonaire as well? He concludes that what we have been able to gather so far has been done via many of the saved documents. The orature of Papiamentu was so strong and developed that it contained concrete genres such as the *canticanan* [songs], and *cuentanan* [stories] that were recited at specific occasions such as at wakes and New Year's celebrations by specialized singers and story tellers. The role of the *yaya's* [nursemaids] factors greatly since they looked after the children of the *shons* [masters] and in this way conveyed to their charges the wealth of orature Papiamentu possessed (Rutgers, 19-21). Rutgers also explains that next to the protest songs there were also the resistance songs that showed an albeit passive aggressive manner, a small-scale kind of marronage, by singing in the Guene language, which the *shons* did not understand. These songs represented either a temporary walking

off the plantation to more elaborate and calculated escape. As an example Rutgers cites (28):

Adios Shon Feli Vidal, adios
Shon Manchi Maduro, adios
Shon Feli Vidal,
Puerto Rico ta mas miho.

Goodbye Shon Feli Vidal, goodbye
Shon Manchi Maduro, goodbye
Shon Feli Vidal,
Puerto Rico is much better.

Language is a powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information. Of equal importance is the role of social identities, which scholars have argued, is critically important in human interaction (Giles and Johnson, 1987; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Tajfel and Turner posit that in terms of social identity individuals must first come to terms personally with their group membership; that is, they must first internalize their social identity in order to be able to speak to their personal identity. This self-identification will either be in line with or else contradicted by the individual's behaviour. An important aspect of identity is that social identities obviously influence interaction and vice versa. This might be likened to an "identity switch" that is activated by a particular activity or environment. When speaking by phone to someone from, for example, Aruba, I usually will switch from English to Papiamentu. My own children have commented that with the switch in language, my voice changes and I sound different somehow, as if I were taking on a different personality.

In order to understand the birth of the various people, cultures and languages in the Caribbean and the implications connected to that development, what Iain Chambers

has written in *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* may be helpful. He states:

> The birth of modernity does not lie unilaterally in the history of European expansion and the modalities of remaking the world in its own image - the Industrial Revolution, capitalism, representative democracy - but equally lies in the savage repression of ethnic, religious and cultural alterity, in the brutality of the black African diaspora, the Atlantic racist slave system, ethnic pogroms and the imperial sacking of the globe that made its history, my history, the history of modernity and 'progress' possible [...] The earlier European intertwining of natural language, literature and identity is unpicked, and the epic of modern nationalism is forced open to meet the exigencies that emerge from more complex patterns. In this belated encounter we finally come to recognize that the construction of the 'other' has been fundamental to the historical, cultural and moral reproduction of our 'selves' and our particular sense of the world, of the centre, of knowledge, of power. To name is to possess, to domesticate is to extend a patronage. We are usually only willing to recognize differences so long as they remain within the domain of our language, our knowledge, our control (Chambers 1994: 28, 30).

Five centuries ago, when Columbus explored the Caribbean Archipelago for the Spanish kings he brought some Indian men and women to Spain in order to teach them to speak Spanish. This practice seems to have been a common one since from the very first discoveries and colonizations, in the eyes of the colonizers the conquered Indians in the Caribbean area (and others elsewhere) had no "real" language. Here Shakespeare's *Tempest* and his creation of the enigmatic character Caliban come to mind. In his play, Shakespeare introduces Caliban as a "cursing voice" who enters saying; "As wicked dew as e'er my mother brushed / With raven's feather from unwholesome fen / Drop on you both! A south-west blow on ye / And blister you all o'er" (I. ii. 321-324).

In naming his character Caliban, Shakespeare is alluding to the anagram cannibal, a term bestowed upon native people whose cultures, languages, religious and social structures were not understood by European explorers. Shakespeare seems intent to show

Caliban to be higher than the animal world, yet lower than that of civilized man, at least in the eyes of the upper class Europeans. Humans are apt to assume another culture than their own to be inferior. When Prospero said that Caliban had no way of communicating, he spoke unfairly. After all, Sycorax had taught her son about nature, telling him stories about the man in the moon, his dog, and his bush. Caliban's mother had been banished from Algiers and, being alone with him on the island, had taught him to speak. Coupled with the fact that Prospero spoke Italian and Caliban did not, is the fact that Caliban had been alone on the island for a long time, his mother having died. Prospero most likely could not understand the excited foreign speech Caliban produced when he saw the first humans in who knows what length of time, but it was a cultural bias and arrogant to accuse Caliban saying: "thou didst not, savage / know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like / a thing most brutish" (I. ii. 355-356).

Swear words and love words are often one of the first things learned in a new language. Those are not love words Caliban utters when he says: "You taught me language, and my profit on't / Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you, / For learning me your language" (I. ii. 363-364). It appears that Caliban's story is strangely similar to what happened in the Caribbean. The Antillean "Caliban" did indeed learn to speak and write the languages of the European masters, but more importantly, and perhaps against all odds, was able to cultivate his own language to a very successful literary level. Of the recent renewed flurry of production of Papiamentu literature, Claassen writes:

> Caliban heeft inderdaad 'het spreken geleerd' in de talen van meester Prospero, maar vooral ook, tegen alle verdrukking in, zijn eigen taal ontwikkeld tot literair niveau. Nadat Prospero zo lang en zo nadrukkelijk in de kolonie sprak is het nu tijd geworden de rollen om te draaien en

Caliban eens het woord in de metropool te geven (Claassen 1992: 33).

> Caliban did indeed "learn to speak" in the languages of his master Prospero, but has moreover, against all opposition, developed his language to a literary level. After Prospero has spoken for such a long time and in such an emphatic manner in the colonies, it has become time to turn the tables and to give Caliban a chance to speak in the metropolis.

Caribbean authors want "to express the crux of identity" which in this area developed in a "double historical and cultural movement of uprootedness" and of belonging (Malena 1999: 156). Aware of the precariousness of cultural practices and their meanings, these authors still recognize that change and adaptation to change can and indeed does foster development of self. A moving against the preconceived ideas of a dominant culture, the desire to retaliate and to resist against the injustices of the past is a noticeable undercurrent in Caribbean literature. No doubt that what Verweel and Marcha (1999) write about the Papiamentu speaker, as belonging to a fragmented culture, can be attributed to other Creole speakers in the area as well. Wholeness then, would be the antidote to further fragmentation. Caribbean literature in general and Papiamentu literature in particular reflect this struggle towards wholeness.

Verweel and Marcha write about the present-day economic and social crisis of Curaçao. The economic crisis they attribute primarily to the financial deficit Curaçao is experiencing, adding that the social crisis reflects a loss of social cohesion within Curaçaoan society. The restoration of a healthy economy, Verweel and Marcha say, rests in the implementation of various governmental measures, while the feelings of loss of social cohesion must be countered by a national appeal to the population to restore traditional norms and values. It is the view of these authors that Curaçao has always been

a fundamentally fragmented society and that the solution to this dilemma will not be found in a return to an overly glorified and romanticized image of an integrated society. These authors argue that Curaçaoan societal characteristics and the identity of its people is an identity characterized by its internalized sense of inferiority.

Curaçao with a population of one hundred and fifty thousand people who represent more than fifty nationalities, is a highly multicultural society that practices different norms, values and lifestyles. While this society makes up Curaçaoan citizens, Verweel and Marcha write that each individual lives largely within the social and perhaps even economic boundaries of his or her own group, and that a single common culture bound together with shared norms and values is nonexistent in Curaçao. While this may be true, there is still something that binds Curaçaoan society together, and that is Papiamentu. According to linguists, a group's development and the speaking of its own language is crucial for that group's identity and in this respect Papiamentu is crucial for the Curaçaoan community. This language is the expression of its own multicultural heritage and character, which reflects the history of the ABC islands, their inhabitants as well as their identity.

Paula (1967) writes that objective boundaries between groups dating from colonial times have in fact become firmly entrenched mental barriers. It is his belief that the Antillean population should have internalized the consequences of slavery, which in turn should have started to become part of their identity because their self-image is profoundly affected by colonial relationships and oppression. Instead, says Paula, the Antillean suffers from a sense of inferiority as colored people, feelings of shame, frustration, and a lack of self-identity (1967: 53). While it is true that colonial, post-colonial relationships did indeed affect the identity formation of the Antillean, it is also

true that this oppression was never total. Identity is not only shaped in working relationships, but is also transmitted and further shaped and nurtured within the social interactions outside of work, in the way people live and interact daily with one another. Having learned to survive under the harsh circumstances typical of colonial times, the Antillean designed a world of meanings in which people continued to live within their own cultural identity. Antillean people have been able to soar and continue to do so, above the social and economic traumas experienced in the past by using their minds, mental and linguistic abilities, to create prose and poetry in order to (re)construct an identity.

Iain Chambers argues that no one can easily rub out, erase or abandon totally their previous history. We inherit a culture, a history, and a language as a sense of identity, which is never wholly destroyed, but is opened up in new situations, for questioning, rewriting, and reconstruction. In terms of identity he summarizes:

> The zone we now inhabit is open, full of gaps: an excess that is irreducible to a single centre, origin or point of view. In these intervals, and the punctuation of our lives, other stories, languages and identities can also be heard, encountered and experienced. Our sense of being, of identity and language, is experienced and extrapolated from movement: the 'I' does not pre-exist this movement and then go out into the world, the 'I' is constantly being formed and reformed in such movement in the world... Identity is formed on the move...Such a journey is open and incomplete, it involves a continual fabulation, an invention, a construction, in which there is no fixed identity or final destination (1994: 24-25).

A reawakening to the value and importance of Papiamentu and other minority or less popular languages has been noted by foreigners and locals alike. In an article entitled "More University students opt for less popular languages" (2003) Amy Horst explains that students taking foreign language classes are turning more and more to less popular

languages. While one of the reasons for this trend is that the language chosen might be the link sought with a cultural heritage, other reasons might figure importantly with the student's desire to either study or work in a place where this language is spoken. The heading of minority languages also includes the politically weak or colonized and exploited nations, as well as social groupings within major languages. Minority is understood to mean a cultural or political position that is subordinate to a dominant one. Minorities also include the nations and social groups that are affiliated with these so called minority languages and literatures.

The study of language, or linguistics, centers on how people use language. Modern linguistics looks at various facets of language, from the actual properties of sound waves in spoken utterances, to the intentions embedded in those utterances, as well as the social settings where these utterances are made. The study of linguistics also probes into the semantic meanings of words, as well as the contextual information provided. This information is at the same time a reflection of the speaker's thoughts. Of course one must be cognizant of the fact that there is not just a single way of expression employed in all the languages known to man. Although a large part of Papiamentu and its usage has as yet not been fully described, interest in academic circles has picked up and has produced, among others, studies by Birmingham (1971), Wood (1971), Dijkhoff (1993), Muller (1989), Joubert (1991, 1997), and Martinus (1995) (In Broek 1998:247). Broek further points out that studies on Papiamentu are not restricted to the islands. He recounts that Papiamentu prose and poetry have been translated and published into Dutch, English, German, French, and Spanish. Numerous essays about Papiamentu literature have appeared in the United States, Canada, Venezuela, Caribbean islands, The Netherlands, Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium. Concerning the literary scene in the

ABC islands Aart Broek states that in using their own Papiamentu language as vehicle of expression, the islanders have stopped looking outward to the concept of Western culture and have turned their vision inward instead. He writes:

> Halfway through this century both literary and non-literary eyes on the island...stopped gazing at idealized concepts of Western culture...the island's own socio-cultural patterns, peculiarities and foibles came into sight. 'Difference' and 'unicity' rather than 'acculturation' and 'assimilation' were being promoted...The age-old oral tradition in the native Creole was one of the other aspects to draw attention, at first hesitantly but with the years, more confidently. Stories, songs, tales, proverbs, rhymes, riddles, jokes, aphorisms and the like were collected, published or reprinted via a new medium: the radio. Particularly the recordings, compilations of texts and the analyses of Nicolaas van Meeteren, Nilda Pinto, Antonio Maduro, Sonia Gomers, Father Brenneker, Elis Juliana, Renee Rosalia and Rose Marie Allen have been influential in the process of reassessment of the oral tradition in Papiamentu (1995: 96).

Frank Martinus Arion (1997) celebrates Caribbean multiculturalism or where it no longer matters from where you hail but where you find solidarity with the community in which you live. The work of the various authors presented here serves to invite the reader to eavesdrop on "Antilleanness or Caribbeanness" and thus to become a participant, albeit a passive one, in overhearing the various voices that interact in their writings. Charles Taylor (1985) writes that to be a person is to exist in a space that is marked by distinctions or values and that these are incorporated in one's sense of self understanding. This in turn can be very different according to the various languages that articulate for us a background of distinctions of worth. Looking thus at the Caribbean area, where multiple languages are in daily use, one readily notes that these languages necessarily constitute the lives of their speakers. The language choices the Caribbean person makes are mandated by his present activity or by which identity he assumes. Issues of ethnolinguistic identity and gender can be clearly seen to have impacted on the Caribbean

literature presented in this work. Inquiring into Caribbean multiple, hybrid identities aids in the unraveling of the various nuances written into their literary explorations and acknowledges the dynamics of identity as a necessary condition for a possible dialogue between classes, races and cultures. These various literary works allow for the staging of multiple points of view and in the analyzing thereof, the inter-subjective undercurrents of self and the other come to light.

At this point it might be useful to read some interesting historical facts about the Antilles in the following time line that was composed from data provided by Rutgers, combined with additions received from Clemencia (2002) and augmented by me:

2500 BC	Arawak Indians inhabited the Leeward Islands.
1499 AD	Alonso de Ojeda reaches the Leeward Islands.
1621	The Dutch West-India Company financed the search for territories where salt could be found.
1634	The Netherlands take possession of Curaçao.
1641	The Dutch West-India Company begins its Transatlantic slave trade, with Curaçao as its centre.
1651	The first Sephardic Jews settle on Curaçao.
1705	Father Schabel mentions in his writings that the people of Curaçao speak a kind of "broken Spanish" which is actually Papiamentu.
1750	First uprising of the Curaçaoan slaves. It is quickly quelled.
1776	First Catholic priests arrive on Curaçao and use Papiamentu in their preaching, education and publishing of the first catechisms. The Pietermaai letter dated Jan. 16, 1776, is said to be the oldest known document written in Papiamentu.
1790	Earliest known newspaper in the Antilles, *The St. Eustatius Gazette*.
1829	Education law states that Dutch is the language of instruction.
1863	Emancipation of the slaves (on paper at least).
1871	The first printing of *Civilisadó*, the first Papiamentu newspaper.
1873	The oldest feuilleton written in Papiamentu appears in *Civilisadó* newspaper.
1905	Joseph Sickman Corsen's *Atardi* appears in *La Cruz*.
1928	Rudolfo Lenz published *El Papiamento, la lengua criolla de*

	Curaçao.
1940	The Netherlands Antilles become involved in World War II. A concentration camp for Nazi soldiers is built on Bonaire.
1944	Pierre Lauffer published *Patria.*
1950	The Papiamentu magazine *Simadán* is published.
1951	Father Brenneker published *Proverbio: Duizend Papiamentse met Nederlandse Vertaling.*
1961	Commission headed by Luis Daal to arrive at one common orthography for Papiamentu.
1966	Frank Martinus Arion published *Bibliografia van het Papiamentu.*
1969	Uprising and revolt of labour laws and ideology - May 30,1969.
1970	Proposal to adopt the orthography for Papiamentu written by Römer and Maduro.
1981	Proposal to adopt this same orthography goes before Curaçaoan Parliament.
1984	Government passes law to standardize Papiamentu on the ABC islands.
1986	Introduction of Papiamentu as subject in Elementary Schools.
1987	Frank Martinus Arion opens his Papiamentu instruction school, *Kolegio Erasmo.*
1994	Proposal for Papiamentu as language of instruction in Elementary Schools goes to Curaçaoan Parliament and is defeated.
1995	Papiamentu is for the first time subject of final examination in Vocational schools.
1998	Papiamentu is compulsory subject in both Elementary as well as Secondary Schools.

Before leaving this chapter it must be noted that globalization has had an impact on our thinking about space. It would be interesting to do a study on how this re-organization of space is being addressed in modern literature, especially since this has been a pervasive theme in literature of the past. Conceptions of space are recognized as basic to social, political, religious, and cultural processes. The complexity of how we classify and organize space is inherent in either inclusion or exclusion of cultural aspects, this being after all the driving force behind a designation of difference or otherness.

Chapter 2: Background Issues in Translation Theory

Translation is the transposition of a text from one linguistic code into a text of a different linguistic code. Translation consists of transferring ideas from one language to another. For translation to be effective, the translator must have knowledge of both the source and the target language as well as cognitive mastery of the relevant content field the translation deals with. In translation, judgment and flexibility are indispensable tools. As well, a certain dexterity is needed in constantly switching from one linguistic code to another. Languages are more than intellectual or social structures. Nida and Taber (1982) stress that each language has its own genius and possesses certain distinctive characteristics which give it special building capacities of lexical choice, unique phrase or word order, as well as special types of discourse markers (1982: 4-5). Each language has a certain atmosphere or a style of its own that differentiates it from others. In English one might use the phrase 'I have goose bumps' to signify that one is cold, while in Dutch one would use the phrase '*Ik heb kippenvel*' [lit. I have chicken skin]. Yet the idioms from both languages describe exactly what the speakers of these languages want to convey.

Translation by its very nature brings "otherness" to a culture; therefore the way a translation is enacted can have an effect on how "otherness", or difference, is brought into and introduced by the culture for which the translation is intended. George Steiner asserts in *After Babel*: "Through language, so much of which is focused inward to our private selves, we reject the empirical inevitability of the world. Through language, we construct what I have called 'alternities of being'" (Steiner 1992: 498). He further points out that 'alternity' indicates human individuation, which lends a "territoriality that is vital to one's identity." I contend that subsequent readings of the same piece may well give a

different acquaintance based on the mood and experience of the reader. Seen in this light, it becomes clear that the diversity produced by the creativity of translation is without limits. Translation theories do not espouse one simple set of norms that would result in perfect translations but instead opt to provide guidelines and a reading strategy that could be utilized in examining the works of various writers and genres. In fact, Steiner argues that there are "no theories of translation" (1992: xvi). Instead he writes:

> What we do have are reasoned descriptions of processes. At the very best, we find and seek, in turn, to articulate, narrations of felt experience, heuristic or exemplary notations of work in progress. These have no 'scientific' status. Our instruments of perception are not theories or working hypotheses in any scientific, which means falsifiable, sense, but what I call 'working metaphors.' At its finest, translation has nothing to gain from the (mathematically) puerile diagrams and flow-charts put forward by would-be theoreticians. It is, it always will be, what Wittgenstein called 'an exact art' (1992: xvi).

Since no two languages are identical, there can be no absolute correspondence between languages, and thus there can be no exact translations. The total impact of a translation may come reasonably close to the original, but there can be no identity in detail (Venuti 2000: 127). Frequently the translator must grasp the meaning of the original as best he can and then seek to reproduce that meaning in the target language. Translation is thus a way of communication across various cultures and various linguistic codes. Translation is one way in which authors' ideas and thoughts are brought into a different cultural or linguistic system. The translator becomes the communicator and the medium between these different and often distant worlds.

Translation is in fact at the heart of every linguistic struggle and is capable of addressing such issues as historical specificity, economy of cultural transaction, subjectivity and a whole range of other questions concerning language, hegemony and

identity. Roman Jakobson argues that any cognitive input or output not only admits, but also directly requires recoding interpretation, that is, translation. He notes that there are three different types of translation:

> Intralingual translation or translation within a language is the interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs belonging to the same language. Interlingual translation or translation between languages is the interpretation of verbal signs by means of verbal signs from another language. Lastly, intersemiotic translation or translation into a form something other than language is the interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs belonging to non-verbal sign systems (In Schulte and Biguenet 1992: 144-51).

He also argues that languages function with a certain degree of flexibility and innovation to accommodate translation, and concludes that translations in progress are interpretive acts. In this dissertation appreciation, depreciation and negotiation of meaning are understood as different phases of translation.

Translation never fails to be interesting and challenging, forcing one to pay close attention to a text, instead of skimming and thus missing some integral part to a close reading. Translation also requires sensitivity to the form of the original work, since the translator must decide which elements of the original work to bring out. It becomes much like solving a crossword puzzle, except that of course in translation, there never is one fixed outcome. Sometimes, as will be seen later, translation involves a guessing game and some poetic interpretation to find an equivalent. It must be noted that a translation is often thought to be second-best and not as deserving of admiration as an original work. A translation may never quite be equal to the original in style, ease, and flow. Notions of canonization and literary greatness encouraged this view in the past, but recent work in translation studies has challenged the view that translation is inferior to the original. This

is not to deny the existence of some texts that are more highly valued than others, but only to suggest that there are systems of evaluation which are not consistent, changing from time to time and from one culture to another. Texts that begin as translations, however "poorly done," may over time come to be regarded as original works. I am of course referring to the Bible which, though looked upon as being an original, is in fact a translation. Martin Luther's translation of the Bible in 1522 laid the foundation for the Modern German Bible. Later the King James Bible was translated using the Modern German Bible as its source. The Bible in its original form is a collection of ancient writings. The Old Testament was written in Aramaic and Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek (although parts may previously have been written in Aramaic and Hebrew and later translated into Greek). Some passages of the Old Testament, notable in the book of Daniel, span many cultures and more than a thousand years. The sixty-six books that comprise the Bible, represent a great variety of literary styles, for example, historical narratives, prophecies, poetry, religious as well as hygienic instructions and exhortations (Snell-Hornby et al 1998: 275). This variety in text makes Bible translation a difficult task for the translator especially when translating into languages that do not have a long literary tradition.

Another problem in translation is understanding the role the translated text is to take. Is the translation process an art or a science? Is is a skill that only can be acquired through practice, or are there certain procedures which can theoretically be described and abstractly studied? Nida claims that the practice of translation "has far outdistanced theory; and though no one will deny the artistic elements in good translating, linguists and philologists are becoming increasingly aware that the processes of translation are amenable to rigorous description" (Nida, 1982). At times the translator must choose

between translating the original text word for word, with the risk of being unclear, or translating the meaning of the passage at the expense of losing the richness and poetry of the original.

While it is true that translation involves the transfer of a message from one code to another, every language is an autonomous system with its own structure, syntax and word order, all of which are governed by definite formal grammatical as well as cultural engagement rules. The way to address one's parents in Dutch is by using the polite second personal pronoun "*U*", while in English one uses the common (or only) second person pronoun "you." Likewise in other languages there might be cultural or linguistic expressions that may not be translatable and an approximation must be sought. Thus, equivalence between language is not only approximate, but must be "dynamic," as Eugene Nida writes:

> Dynamic equivalence is therefore to be defined in terms of the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language. This response can never be identical, for the cultural and historical settings are too different, but there should be a high degree of equivalence or response, or the translation will have failed to accomplish its purpose...In order to be intelligible, a translation needs to aim at reproducing the content rather than the form of the message (Nida 1966: 243-44).

Eugene Nida bases his arguments for the possibility of translation on the idea of functional equivalence. References that clearly do not exist in the receptor culture, or that may exist but with a different function, are substituted for references in the source culture. In his view, translation means finding the nearest equivalent of meaning and of style in the source language. In this way, Nida provides priority to dynamic equivalence over formal equivalence in translation, all the while recommending that the translator keep

as close to the function of the original text as possible. Through the use of functional equivalents the translator is able to span both linguistic as well as cultural differences. Nida further points out that intelligibility does not guarantee acceptability, nor is it the prerequisite of acceptability. Readers are sometimes more attracted to something that sounds exotic if perhaps even somewhat unintelligible. Nida explains that preference for an exotic if unintelligible text is that "the form of the language communicates associative values which far outweigh the lack of cognitive content" (243).

The grammar and semantics of both the source and the target language create built-in problems that make evaluation, assessment, and pliancy of utmost importance in translation. Problems caused by ambiguities, unexpressed yet implied meanings and semantic shades of meanings that have no readily available equivalent in the target language, pose problems that make the translator's task arduous, requiring a special knowledge of the distinct content field as well as a fair amount of research in order to avail himself of all his sources of deduction.

The perspective taken in a translation depends upon the vantage points of the reader and narrator, both literally and metaphorically. One way to understand narrative perspective is through Bahktin's notions of heteroglossia and dialogism in which languages and images, as systems and codes, escape fixed meaning. That is, encoded in languages and embedded in the use of language are meanings that may escape the narrator. So too are there meanings generated by perspectives that escape the gender of either the narrator or the reader. Gender refers to the ways in which the relation between masculine and feminine are distinguished and how they shape one another. A gendered perspective is not necessarily related to the gender of the narrator. An example is Elis Juliana who in his poetry, although he is a man, is able to capture with sensitivity the essence of a

woman. He has often been called a woman's advocate. The gendering of the perspective has to do with the fact that gender is an embedded assumption, and as such influences institutions, and social relations.

Initial interpretation and understanding does not begin with the translator and what he brings to the text, but rather it begins with the language of the other. The interpretation derives from the language of the text as it evolves on the page, in its foreign context, so that the interpretation rests within the author's conception of it. It has been argued that translators purposely distance themselves from their own cultural ideologies, so as to be better able to enter into that otherness of the text. (See Joyce Marshall below). The translator tries to interpret without preconceived notions of cultural or historical ideologies. This is an impossibility as neither reader nor translator can step completely outside the assumptions that impact one's language, culture, history or experience.

Indeed David Homel and Sherry Simon argue that literary translation is the tool with which to study exchange between cultures. One of the writers/translators featured in Homel and Simon, Barry Callaghan, mentions the emotional affinities that prompted his translations. He likens translation to a form of homage paid to the other culture, the initiating force being affection and admiration. Another writer/translator, Joyce Marshall, advocates a conscious effort at distancing herself from the familiar, a kind of self-estrangement, in order to accentuate the "quirks and riches" of the language itself. In her translation she strives to keep her own personality out of her work (Homel and Simon 1988: 17-9). Alice Parker writes that a translator is forced to work "in the synapses between languages, between texts, opening out what the author had intended to keep hidden, translating not only the senses and affective changes of the words of the text, but also the responses" (Parker 1998: 145). Thus, the translator necessarily must deal with

his own as well as the text's emotions, sensations, and values and funnel these through personal experiences and referents. The problematic of translation is that perhaps part of the text escapes the translation, because the words to name or to translate are not readily available, that is, the translator is unable to embed his experience into the experiences, the sensations, the feelings or concepts which are so obvious in another language.

To be sure there are significant differences between the activities of writing or creating a text and of translating a text. Whereas the writer has an unlimited choice of what type or genre of literature he wants to write, the translator's choice is limited to the kind of translation he wants to achieve. Once the text has been selected, the translator is faced with a fixed text that includes cultural and linguistic elements; a text he must translate in a cognitive manner to the receiving audience, whilst striving to remain if not completely faithful, then at least close to the text, using such aids as maps, tables, glossaries and the like to provide cultural and literary background to the reader.

The act of translating is connected to the deep problems of language. The predicament of language is knowing how the mind finds expression in language and determining the effects that words and language in general exert on the mind. Thus, it is necessary to know how words present themselves in the consciousness of the individual, how ideas originate in the first place, how and if they evoke words as images, and finally how the recipient of all this activity translated the expression just heard into thoughts of his own.

In his book *Human Agency and Language*, Charles Taylor (1996) draws on the collectivists' theories of meaning in the lives of Humboldt, Herder, Haman, and Heidegger. The argument is that language is inherently expressive, not merely designative, and that when "something is expressed, it is embodied in such a way as to be made manifest"

(219). Humankind has been concerned with language and meaning as far back as Aristotle, who defined man as being an animal possessing word, thought or reasoning (217). This concern has been ongoing since it is strategic in defining the character of man, and remains even more of a a puzzle than it was to the Enlightenment. Taylor refers to two broad approaches to an understanding of linguistic meaning, the designative and the expressive. Designative meaning would explain the meaning of a word by pointing to what it designates, namely ideas as representation of the world. Expressive meaning explains the meaning of a word in the manner in which it makes manifest things in the world (218). Often scholars determined to be as objective as possible, leave the subject out altogether. Taylor points out, however, that an expressivist account of meaning cannot avoid subject related properties, as expression is the power of a subject or person. Thus, with insight by intellectuals predecessors, Taylor lays out his expressivist theory of language saying that "language, or expression in general, is constitutive of thought" (219). He continues by distinguishing between the designative view and the expressive one: "language is energeia, not ergon" (232). Taylor's view is that language is an activity in which we express our reflective awareness, and that this activity is not limited, but encompasses the whole gamut of expressive capacities in which language plays a role.

Gottlob Frege launched a strong attack on psychologism in a thesis in which he said that "the mental images which a word may arouse in the mind of a speaker or hearer, are irrelevant to its meaning, which consists rather in the part played by the word in determining the truth conditions of sentences in which it occurs" (In Gregory 1987: 228). According to Frege, the meaning of the word is connected to our actual practice in the employment of language. Thus Frege severs mental images from meaning. Taylor agrees that language is not a set of words that designate their respective objects, but a vehicle for

reflective awareness, and he echoes Herder's thought: "The new expressive theory of human language is constitutive of thought: that is, reflective consciousness only comes to exist in its expression" (229). While Taylor admits that language may be descriptive, it is also much more than that. Language expresses the user's relation to the world in a variety of ways. Thus, language as expression may be used to give orders, request specific information, give thanks, curse, praise, or invoke the help of God (In Gregory 1987: 812). Looking at the view that in language we formulate things, Taylor states that "through language we can bring to explicit awareness what we formerly had only an implicit sense of."

Taylor recounts Frege's example about one explorer who, upon discovering a mountain from the south, gave it a name (A), while another explorer discovered the same mountain from the north and gave it another name (B). It would then appear that the two names have different senses, but the same referent. And while maintaining that the *Sinn* [sense] and *Bedeutung* [meaning or referent] of a linguistic expression are always distinct, Frege establishes the intimate connection between them by specifying that the relation of a linguistic expression to its *Bedeutung* is determined by the expression's *Sinn*; in other words, sense determines reference (In Osborne 1992: 147). What is central in the expressivist theory of language that Taylor presents in the last two chapters of *Human Agency and Language*, is that language is inherently expressive and that it not only depicts, but articulates by bringing things into focus; that it makes things manifest; that in doing so, it evokes qualities in us and as such shapes our form of life. Language is not like the objects generally studied in linguistic science; one cannot point one's finger at it. Yet if we accept Taylor's thesis and place the emphasis on language as an activity, we are still left with a puzzle as to what precisely the activity involves. Stating that the pieces to this

puzzle are nearly limitless, Taylor limits himself to three major points: a) that in language we formulate things and thus that we make our thought and our feelings real; b) that language serves to create objects of mutual consideration by placing things out into a public space, between participants in the language game, as it were; and c) that it allows for those specific concerns that make us humans (256-63). I am primarily concerned with the first point, namely that in language we formulate things and that we make our thought and our feelings real by using it to articulate, express, and place into focus our meaning both to ourselves as well as to those addressed. Yet the primary of these concerns does not preclude the other characteristics Taylor attributes to the expressionist conception of language. Language places things in social and historical context (in public space) and gives cultural place to those concerns that constitute us as human beings.

In the past Europe was considered the great Original, the starting point, and the colonies were therefore mere copies or "translations" of Europe. Coupled with this belief came the notion that the colony, which was a copy of the European original, also carried with it a value judgment as inferior, which included any literature produced there. This trope both drew upon and reinforced the notion of the inferiority of the copy, since "being copies, translations were evaluated as less than the originals, and the myth of translation as something that diminished the greater original established itself" (Bassnett & Trevedi 1999: 4). Octavio Paz argues against the idea that translation is the most significant means we have of understanding this world we live in. He believes that the world is like an ever-growing pile of texts, which are

> ...each slightly different from the one that came before it: translations of translations of translation. Each text is unique, yet at the same time it is the translation of another text. No text can be completely original because language itself, in its very essence, is already a translation - first from the

> nonverbal world, and then, because each sign and each phrase is a translation of another sign, another phrase (1992: 154).

Postcolonial scholars take as a starting point culture and cultural difference, perhaps not realizing that culture itself is mediated by language - the language of a particular culture that can be accessed only translation. Robinson, like Paz, equates cultural translation as "consolidating a wide variety of cultural discourses into a target text that in some sense has no 'original', no source text, at least no single source text" (Robinson 1997: 43). He argues that there is not just a literary value to texts, but that they contain cultural, social and political undercurrents that can serve as theoretical statements in their own right. Studying and translating these works impart coherent explanations of the world in which the authors that produced these texts lived. He concludes that "all translations are based on interpretations and that interpretations will of course vary from one translator to the next" (109).

Douglas Robinson links "translation and empire" and explains that translation was always an integral and indispensable aspect of colonial conquest and occupation. He notes that translators were trained to be loyal to imperial power and to serve it unconditionally. He cites the example of the Spanish conquistador, Hernan Cortéz, who through his native mistress and interpreter, *La Malinche*, was able to communicate with Nahua, whose territory he was attempting to overtake (1997: 11). Translation is still important, as noted in the latest war in Iraq and in the war on terrorism. The messages received from Osama Ben Laden are examined by voice experts, data analyzers, and translators in order to ascertain that this message was indeed written by the Al-Queda leader. Translation is always embedded in history and in socio-cultural structures of society. Maria Tymoczko contends that postcolonial writers, including authors from minority languages and

cultures, are not transposing a text, but as a background to their literary work they are transposing a culture, complete with a language system, consisting of texts, genres, and tale types, as well as a social system, a legal system and so forth. She writes:

> The culture or tradition of a postcolonial writer acts as a metatext which is rewritten - explicitly and implicitly, as both background and foreground - in the act of literary creation. The task of the interlingual translator has much in common with the task of the postcolonial writer, where one has a text, however the other has the metatext of culture itself (1994: 21).

Translation is an intercultural practice by definition, because interlinguistic transfer goes paired with intercultural transfer and includes interliterary transfer. Translations belong to national traditions and often serve nationalistic purposes, a feature evident in some of the translations to follow. Yet the cultural dialogue between people, which is really at the heart of translation, needs an aesthetic freedom in order for new literary expressions to arise.

The link joining culture and translation is also noted by Bhabha (1994), for whom translation forms the core of his argument for postmodern culture as a condition of hybridity. Stating that "[t]he transnational dimension of cultural transformation -- migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation -- makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification" (172), Bhabha employs a strategy that allows him to extend the literal meaning of interlingual translation into the domain of cultural translation. This thinking then opens up a new way of seeing interlingual translation as a process in which the target text is presented as a hybrid construction, one that has necessarily been touched and influenced (tainted, colored or contaminated, as it were) by the cultural values of the source culture. Translation thus is in effect a cultural performance. The location of culture then is in translation and both are united in that they are performances.

When we read, we read with well-known, but largely implicit assumptions: a shared language and history with common linguistic techniques such as irony and humour, all of which make the text readily accessible. Readers' interpretations of texts derive not only from an understanding of the language and literature they are immersed in, but also from an understanding of their own society and culture. In contrast, the translator does not read literature in other languages with the assumption that access and understanding of a text is readily available. Because if the language of a text is deemed foreign, then so too are the history and specific linguistic codes out of which it is written.

Just as there are multiple translations of a given text, there are also multiple interpretations. The translator may arrive at more than one interpretation of a text but must ultimately decide upon a translation that reflects a final interpretation. In translating poetry, for example, the translator must decide whether to maintain the rhythm, the rhyme, meter or sense of the original text and often bases this on what to him appears to be of primary importance. The interpreter cannot rely on just one poem to arrive at an interpretation of the orientational features of a language. In order to make any claims about the significance of the patterns and features of a language, multiple poems and texts by various authors must be included. This is indeed what has occurred in this dissertation. Poetry translation is a very special case within literary translation and is even further removed from everyday language, prose, or newspaper articles. Even in its format, poetry differs on the page from other forms of writing. Poetry may represent compact writing, such as is the case with haiku. It may possess an intricate or simple rhyming pattern and rhythm. In the translation of the poems represented in my work this last has proven to be the most elusive yet vital part, especially in the poem *He Patu* by Elis Juliana. My goal has been to translate these poems so that they stand on their own as poetic texts. In this

work I opted to give a literal prose rendition but have still tried to maintain the mimetic format.

The fundamental procedures of translating according to Nida and Taber are: "analysis, transfer, restructuring, and testing" (Nida and Taber 1982: vii). They write that a more antiquated focus in translation was the attempt by translators to "being able to reproduce stylistic specialties, e.g. rhythms, rhymes, plays on words, chiasmus, parallelisms and musical grammatical structures" (1). The more modern focus has seen a shift from the message's format to the receiver's response. There will be times when to preserve the inherent meaning of a message the form must be changed, albeit in such a way as not to second guess the original writer. While it may be prudent to elaborate on stylistic features of the original, glosses, end-, foot- or marginal notes will suffice in providing a clearer concept of the text to a reader perhaps not familiar with the level of writing or with the socio-cultural background of the writer. I believe that a good translation is one that is able to reproduce in the target language the same meaning and form of the source text. Yet the translator always confronts the choice of making a distinction between free and literal translation. Social, cultural, as well as historical considerations always play a role in translation.

It is rather difficult to pinpoint the various techniques applied in the translations to follow. For the most part these are implicit mental operations that cannot be precisely articulated. The first critical step in the translations to follow began in careful and sensitive readings of the chosen texts. Then there were of course, the mechanical and practical parts of translation, in putting pen to paper. When the translated text appeared stilted and perhaps even artificial, my procedure was to pause, to reread and then to re-evaluate, trying to get the nuances of meanings just right. Finally there was the flow of the

translated text to consider. Thus, there is a progression to translation that becomes very evident when comparing the first rough draft to the final product. While I use the word "final" product, it must be pointed out that there never really is a finished product, but simply a product that meets, at a particular time, the translator's approval.

Some of the most important aspects encountered during my translations are listed below and compose by no means a finite list:

1. the difficulty and complexity of the cross-cultural and historical interpretation of terms and concepts
2. the fact that this revisionary enterprise is an ongoing process, extending from the present and on into the future
3. the interpreter's historicity, with all the particular prejudgments and horizons of expectation that come with them
4. problems with grasping and understanding concepts and discursive aspects of a language which was not my mother tongue
5. the need to translate in order to study translation.

In analyzing the text the translator must be clear about his intentions. Often the chosen text may carry emotional and personal overtones. Having obviously been affected by reading the text in its original form, the translator decides if he wants to charge the translation with the same emotive and persuasive tenor so as to evoke the same response in the reader. Deciding on who the audience will be enables the translator to decide on the degree of formalities to be incorporated. The texts to follow were not primarily translated to inform, persuade, or teach the reader, but were intended to showcase Papiamentu literature which in its original format is enjoyed by a restricted few. However, the translations presented should not be read as representative of the corpus of Papiamentu literature but simply as a sample of the ways in which Papiamentu has been, and

continues to be used by its speakers. Although the texts are not in chronological order of their creation, the attempt was made to begin with oral literatures. Through these various texts it becomes apparent that they represent among others, notions of borrowing and derivation. Lang (2000) explains that in the Caribbean, the term dubbing refers to "oral, performative poetry which rejects the rhythms of standard English and expresses protest and revolt." (2000: 173). Dubbing in the theatre means to replace one linguistic utterance in a movie with another. Lang refers to dubbing as "the process by which an alien language is expunged from a hypotext and replaced by creole" (174). Referring to texts that have been reproduced in Creole, Lang writes, "Whenever a creole writer deliberately writes over a culturally significant hypotext, thereby creating a creole version of it, this metaphorical transmutation is highly charged and inherently polemic" (174). Cloning, another way to replicate, is also a literary device which is like borrowing, an imitation of genres between literary as well as cultural systems. It is this borrowing and imitation of genres as well as the adopting and adapting according to necessities of the particular cultures involved that give new life to these cultures, but only through translation.

Translation theory provides at best a framework of rules and principles for translating texts. It provides a background for an endless list of problems that may likely crop up in translation and is a valuable guide to possible translation procedures. As such, it is deeply concerned more with the choices and decisions of translation than with the grammatical mechanics of the languages involved. The theory of translation aids in providing insight into the relation among meaning, thought, semantics of language, and various cultural aspects related to the language. Yet, in these translations I shied away not only from prescriptive approaches in translation theory, but also from translation pedagogy. Instead I embraced a functional and working translation theory that rested on

an empirical basis but did still allow for a translation practice that took into account time, place, and specific circumstance. Finally then, what is translation? Perhaps James T. Siegel sums it up best when he is quoted in Douglas Robinson's *Translation and Empire*:

> Translation arises from the need to relate one's interest to that of others and so to encode it appropriately. Translation in this case involves not simply the ability to speak in a language other than one's own, but the capacity to reshape one's thoughts and actions in accordance with accepted forms. It thus coincides, with the need to submit to the conventions of a given social order. Deferring to conventions of speech and behaviour (which, precisely because they are conventions, antedate one's intention), one in effect acknowledges what appears to be beyond oneself. Translation is then a matter of first discerning the differences between and within social codes and then of seeing the possibility of getting across those differences. To do so is to succeed in communicating, that is, in recognizing and being recognized within the intelligible limits of a linguistic and social order. Hence, if translation is to take place at all, it must do so within a context of expectation: that in return for one's submission, one gets back the other's acknowledgment of the value of one's words and behaviour (Robinson 1997: 5).

The specific writers examined in this dissertation include among others, Joseph Sickman Corsen, Elis Juliana, Guillermo Rosario, Maria Diwan, Nydia Ecury, Frank Martinus Arion, and Hubert Booi. The choice of texts is partly because these authors feature importantly in Aart Broek's *Pa Saka Kara*, an anthology of Papiamentu literature. The inclusion of these authors in the dissertation is mostly personal as some of these harken back to my youth. Coupled with this is my wish to make their work accessible to others and to share with them the delight I find in reading them. These authors' texts which may be classified as marginal and nontraditional, reflect the problems of interpretation and help to explain why almost no critique exists of these texts. Without the tools to read, interpret, and understand these multicultural texts, Western culture is denied the very rich traditions derived from this grouping that creates Papiamentu

literature and reflects this particular culture. Even though these authors may be absent from the Western canon, they have already been recognized in their respective area and field, have many publications and have received literary prizes.

Regrettably I was unable to keep a moment by moment log on the process of translation or on the choices I made in this process. It seems improbable that, had I been able to do this, it would provide descriptions, strategies and solutions to other translators engaged in similar or even different tasks. Since tradition is at times plagued, just as language itself by what may be described as "messy" factors, certain choices need to be made so as to deal with vagueness, memory limitations and interference from the source language. Even when the translator has made a choice, he rarely has at the ready translation teachers or theorists who could help by explaining the various steps one must take in translation. In this present work, as in other translations I have done, there has always been the possibility to rewrite a passage translated earlier and perhaps to arrive at a superior translation. Even what was thought to be a fine translation yesterday may be reworked at a later stage not merely because more knowledge is available, but because a translation is a composition that only achieves its judgment of adequacy in the moment of *wikken en wegen* [evaluation and judgment].

Chapter 3: A Papiamentu Translation Workshop I - Oral Literatures

It is interesting to note that in many Caribbean texts, be they Hispanic, Dutch, English, or Papiamentu, the theme of displacement, and its obvious relation to exile and migration, figures prominently. These concepts are some of the most crucial elements of cultural diversity in Caribbean consciousness and decidedly reflect "Caribbeanness." Such consciousness is often expressed through references to the natural environment and to Caribbean landscapes. Without losing sight of colonial legacies, these works concentrate on the specifics of the Caribbean. No matter where their migrations take them, Caribbean writers never forget the environment they at one time called home.

When I refer to literature of the Caribbean, I include oral literature. The concept of an oral tradition is not always easy to grasp from within a society like our own that is mostly centered on written literature. The oral tradition has at times been dismissed as crude and artistically undeveloped. Yet it is precisely the recording and recirculating of past oral literature that has preserved it as oral texts. Oral texts are dependent upon actual performers who convey them in words. One of the properties of oral literatures is free variation, where texts undergo changes and innovations according to the genre and circumstances of the performance. During these performances, the audience is involved in the actualization and creation of a piece of oral literature. Indeed it is only when there is an audience present that an oral performance makes any sense. In order to ensure that he has the attention of the audience, the performer may ask that his audience aid in the narration of a story by singing a refrain, or by clapping their hands at a certain point in the performance. In *African Oral Literature*, Isidore Okpewho (1992) writes:

In a truly traditional setting of an oral performance, it is highly unusual for

> members of the audience to watch passively and not make any sort of comment whatsoever as the performer sings or narrates...The audience shows its approval of the creative act of the narrator and gives him full encouragement as he builds his scenes (1992: 60).

It must be remembered, however, that oral literature is fundamentally dependent upon the context of the performance, most notably, the presence of an audience. Most likely the performer will make some adjustments to please a particular audience, with the result that a text performed for one audience may be altered considerably when performed for another audience. Another point to consider is the memory factor. The very nature of the oral tradition is that the artist, however skilled, will not recall every word of the text, and as such will make adjustments whenever necessary. In some way, each oral performance is a new creation and a new composition and with each retelling the message takes on a more dynamic quality (68).

Colonial settlement led to displacement, the relocation of whole groups of people, slavery, and the eventual hybridity of peoples and cultures. This hybridity is what principally marks the region's identity. It follows then that the multiple ethnic and cultural strains that produce contemporary literature in the Caribbean are inescapably and indisputably linked. Caribbean literature is largely an expression of ethno-linguistic identity. Literature written either entirely in Creole or is heavily interspersed with Creole lends an aura of authenticity to the expression of the multiple voices of the Caribbean. Thus, writing in Creole is a vehicle of identity. Authors employ various narrative strategies and techniques of characterization, which permit the reader intimate insight into a character's desires and motivations, and which allow the author to more effectively deliver a well rounded, psychologically complex literary creation.

Like the people themselves, their languages are expressions of hybridity and

displacement. Elaine Savory Fido writes in *Out of the Kumbla* that Caribbean literature consists mainly of ethnic languages, primarily African, but that have been influenced by other aspects to become Creole Caribbean (Davies & Fido 1990: xvi). Selwyn Cudjoe (1975) points out that the resistance movement from which Caribbean literature evolved actually began as early as when the slaves initiated the practice of singing folk songs while they toiled. Being restricted in celebrating their culture, the slaves often used proverbs to convey hidden meaning. In *Entwisted Tongues*, Lang (2000) argues that deep speech as seen in slave proverbs forms a discrete sub-genre, one that portrays the tension between the "imperatives of rigid obedience and the expressive needs of the slaves". Deep speech veiled in these proverbial sayings pointed to "alternative social reality invisible without access to the language...and are said to exemplify the birth of a genre in response to social trauma" (2000: 106). It seems that resistance in the Caribbean context becomes synonymous with regaining of dignity and pride. Creoles often functioned as the vehicle of resistance as they were expressive of the inner rhythms of Caribbean cultural practices. The use of proverbs reveals a profound knowledge of the socio-cultural setting of which they are a part. Proverbs manifest a form of discursive indirectness, a cherished quality in the context of slavery, where the slaves could not speak freely, but could hide meaning by using a largely metaphorical language. In such instances the use of proverbs neutralized the effect of an otherwise unpleasant statement by being evasive and thus without deliberately offending colonial listeners.

Before embarking on translation of Papiamentu and showcasing some of this literature, it is important to realize that there are several difficulties associated with Creole languages, one of which is the lack of standardized orthographies. Presently there are two versions of Papiamentu spelling, one used on Bonaire and Curaçao, and another

used on Aruba. Aruba favors a spelling based on the etymology of the word, whereas in Curaçao and Bonaire a phonetic spelling is favored. The result is a difference in the spelling of several sounds. The name Papiamentu is spelled as Papiamento in Aruba, since Aruban Papiamentu does not allow the letter "u" to appear in word final position. The need to standardize Papiamentu is a vital one especially where education is concerned. In order to set goals for the developing of the language in the school system and to improve education for Papiamentu speaking schoolchildren, the written language must first be standardized. As yet there is no consensus and at present there are two competing systems at work. Curaçao and Bonaire utilize a system that leans more towards the Dutch influence. The Arubans use a writing system that is based on the origin of the words and mostly favor a Spanish spelling. The political autonomy of each island makes universal spelling rules very difficult and hard to enforce. Yet, regardless of the difference between the two orthographies (among others), the literature is readable by all Papiamentu readers. I have not attempted to be uniform in orthography but have replicated the pieces of literature in their given format and at the time of their creation.

Oral literature in Papiamentu most likely saw its start when it was handed down from one generation to the next. Although not free from social pressure, these forms of oral literature continued to function in society even after emancipation. According to Dalphinus there are five oral genres in the Caribbean, which are also to be found in Nigeria (1985: 174). These include the proverb, the riddle, tongue twisters, prose narratives and songs. Traditional healers or the *hasidu di brua* [maker of witchcraft], for example, follow rituals and perform healing practices passed down orally through the generations. The role of Afro-Caribbean magic is seriously underestimated on the islands. It is believed that about 40% of today's population, some of whom also believe in the

teachings of the Christian church, actively participate in magic, and that 30% frequently visit spiritual mediums (Verweel and Marcha, 1999). Curaçaoans, whether churchgoing or not, consult spiritual mediums about both major and minor affairs in their daily lives. This involves spiritual *brua* [witchcraft] practices, but also customs involving the use of herbs credited with both physical and spiritual curative powers. At these times, the medium might sing some old incantations handed down orally.

It is generally known that songs were sung by the slaves, but it is not known which songs were sung nor what was the original format of these songs. One of those who was zealous in the collection of these songs to ensure their preservation was Father Paul Brenneker, who received his religious training in the Netherlands. Father Brenneker worked for a short time in Bonaire, Guadeloupe and in St. Maarten, before finally coming to settle in Curaçao. Not only was he knowledgeable in archeology, folklore, and folk religion, he was also a pioneer in underwater photography. His love for Curaçao is reflected in the enormous energy he devoted to the collection, preservation, and study of the island's traditions, folklore, and orature (Rutgers 1996: 310). Father Brenneker did his fieldwork between 1958 and 1961 and worked with more than 250 informants. Frank Martinus tells us that Brenneker was neither a trained anthropologist nor linguist. In his profession as a missionary, Brenneker visited with the elderly and interviewed them to collect old songs in order to preserve them (Martinus 1996: 193). There is an account of one man in his eighties telling Father Brenneker that one time four plantation owners got together with some of their slave overseers. The overseers were asked to sing some of the old Guene songs, which were then recorded and sent to the Netherlands to be analyzed. The conclusion of the scholars in Holland was that these texts were mostly composed of animal sounds (Rutgers 1996: 22). Brenneker writes about Guene (also sometimes called

Luango):

> [I]t is the language the slaves brought from Africa and which they used to speak between themselves on the island. It had a long life, remaining in existence even after Papiamentu had become the standard language, probably because the slaves wanted to have a secret means of communication. Nowadays no one speaks it and it only lives on in about a hundred songs and other idiomatic expressions (1961: 61).

Brenneker recounts that Guene was said to be the language of the animals, full of animal sounds and expressions. Knowing this makes the earlier conclusion of Dutch scholars about early slave songs understandable. Frank Martinus Arion is a staunch believer that Guene was the secret language of the slaves and that it has not died out, but lives on in the songs that are sung to this day. In his novel, *De laatste vrijheid* [The Ultimate Freedom], Martinus Arion comments on the way main character, Daryll Guenepou, speaks Papiamentu. It is Martinus Arion's contention that the original, deep Creole structure that the African slaves brought to Curaçao was Guene Creole, which later evolved into Papiamentu, but was still spoken in its pure form on the West coast of the island. Of these speakers on the West coast of Curaçao, Martinus Arion writes:

> Zij zijn de authentieke schatbewaarders van de Papiamentse cultuur, die zijn wortels heeft in het Guene. Het Guene is meer dan wat ook de bron van mythische poëzie, die begaafde dichters onder de slaven hebben meegenomen uit het moederland, Afrika (Martinus Arion 1996: 73).

> They are the authentic treasure keepers of the Papiamentu culture, which has its roots in Guene. The Guene language is more than anything else the fountain of mythical poetry brought by talented slaves from the motherland, Africa.

Lang writes of Guene that it was a "special, secret language alongside Papiamentu, which only certain slaves spoke among themselves, and was sustained in isolation from Dutch

and Spanish influence because of continuing waves of slaves speaking Afro-Portuguese pidgin" (Lang 2000: 93).

Belonging to the oldest songs are those called *Cantica di bula bai* [Songs of flying away] from the slave period. These songs served as emblems of comfort for those who, while unable to escape their plight of servitude, held firmly to the belief that they would be able to escape by flying away, back to Africa. It was believed that when the time came to die, an old Guene would not actually die, but would fly back to Africa provided he had never eaten salt in his new homeland. The following song is one from the corpus of those with Guene words. I have not tried to translate it since it contains words from the Guene language with which I am not familiar, except for the last two lines which say: *Si boso mira Dios, cuminda Dios pa mi.* [If you see God, greet him for me] (Brenneker 1959: 169).

Djowili Patagan
zan wego
Djowili Patagan eh
zan wego huemi
Djowili Patagan
zan wego
Si boso mira Dios
Cuminda Dios pa mi.

The rhythms of this song follow the sound of the *tambú* [a type of drum]. While at first Antillean poets were using the "civilized and cultured" language of the colonizers, with the coming of Enlightenment, symbolism and surrealism helped to bring change to the literary language, and many now turned to using Papiamentu as language for prose and poetry. Right from its inception, Afro-Antillean poetry in various languages was showing a certain *semehansa* [resemblance] in the use of rhythm that recorded the sound of

African percussion instruments, repetition of sound, words, and phrases (Snead 1984: 95). Afro-Antillean authors, having accepted their cultural inheritance and having redefined and embraced it with pride, set out to restore, by means of their literary work, the dignity of their race, a dignity that had disappeared as a result of ages of slavery. This same understanding is expressed by Derek Walcott, who in trying to come to terms with his traumatic past, writes "A Far Cry from Africa". In this poem Africa attracts him, but he also realizes that he cannot erase his other inheritance and roots (Walcott 1989: 97):

> ... I who am poisoned with the blood of both
> Where shall I turn, divided to the vein?
> I who have cursed
> The drunken officer of British rule, how choose
> Between this Africa and the English tongue I love?
> Betray then both or give back what they give?
> How can I face such slaughter and be cool?
> How can I turn from Africa and live?

Often the elderly and more conservative elements of a society retain the use of proverbial metaphor. Metaphoric speech was often influenced by the reality of slavery and has maintained its vitality and attraction in Papiamentu proverbs. This trait is a vital one for the interpretation of Papiamentu literature in general, and for its proverbs in particular. The old traditions do not manifest themselves at the surface, but lie underneath in "deep structures" and are only discovered by understanding the contexts, concepts, and goals of the particular sayings. In Papiamentu proverbs, one often finds a deep semantic sense of which these proverbs are expressive. Often local colour (namely the flora and fauna of the tropics) is used to convey a European idea in an authentic and locally understandable expression. In Creoles as in other languages, proverbs were used as a cautionary tool to instruct a child for instance, that though he might be right, he needed

simply to be aware of who held the whip. Proverbs were also used as covert criticisms against the powers at the time, as vehicles of defining and imparting wisdom, or often as not, as language play with words and sounds. Thus, proverbs were created for cognitive reasons but also for their aesthetic values. Lang writes that proverbs and folktales served as protective devices. He explains that Creole lore served as "a cultural expression for techniques of survival and resistance" (2000: 106). Deep speech which highlights slave proverbs, stories, tongue twisters, riddles, and witticisms, thus represents Creole culture and literature and "is most properly thought of as a trope" (108). Lang continues with the analogy of relexification that erstwhile African speech genres were dubbed onto Creoles. Work songs, proverbs, and riddles would be African practices renamed, but the "precise configurations of (re)generification (the re-emergence of African genres in Creole forms) would depend upon the demographic conditions prevailing at each site of creolization" (119). Lang further contends that this deep speech is found in proverbs, riddles, puns and tongue twisters. He writes:

> Creole oral cultures repose upon the forms and strategies of deep speech (proverbs, riddles, puns and tongue twisters), and upon a reservoir of oral tales, those generated by the experience of slavery, but also those transmitted through the diaspora. The tale types surviving in the New World are significantly reduced in number and concern only a few folk heroes, especially the trickster, who is usually known in the Caribbean creoles by some variant of Anancy (138).

The proverb has proven to be one of the most appropriate mediums through which feeling for a particular language, its imagery, its communal practices, but also its abstract ideas can be expressed and so realized. Proverbs may be characterized as using compressed and allusive phraseology, usually in metaphorical wording. They generally express some universal truth while at the same time presenting a rich source of imagery,

that informs various forms of discourse. In the Papiamentu context, figurative speech is a mode of expression in its own right. Proverbs are closely interwoven with other aspects of linguistic and literary behaviour. It can be argued that in most cultures proverbial expressions and other types of literary art enrich and have an impact upon each other, but it is especially easily understood on the ABC islands. For centuries the people on the islands were able to trade, fight, tell stories, and fall in love with speakers of other languages. While nearly all the inhabitants understand Dutch there are telltale signs of cultural differences as to how the Papiamentu language ought to be used. For example, in Dutch one may call the birthday honoree *het feestvarken* [lit. the party pig]. Translating "party pig" literally into Papiamentu is to compare a person to an animal, a touchy subject, especially in a society that is mostly descended from former slaves. Direct translations from Dutch into Papiamentu such as *het beste paard van stal* [the best horse of the stable] and *de bonte hond* [the colorful dog], are hurtful to Papiamentu speakers because in earlier times slaves were not counted among members of the human race. In that regard, it is always necessary to convey one's greetings when entering a building because to do so is to acknowledge that humans are present. And while this is done without explicit awareness, without direct thought of a former slave society, when it goes wrong, it is and remains an old sore point. It is thus always necessary to greet others and if it happens to be a Monday, one must always say *bon siman* [good week], because a superstition is that the whole week will be great if Monday ends well. There are many such superstitions. For example, when asked about your health, it is prudent to say *Mi ta basta bon, danki.* [I am well enough, thanks], for to say *Mi ta hopi bon* [I feel great] is to invite trouble. There are similar instances in English, where one says "knock on wood" to denote that so far illness has passed one by.

Proverbs can be used to accomplish various tasks. They may present ideas in a simple and straightforward manner, or they may be shrouded in figurative language, concealing deeper meanings. Some knowledge of the culture of a people is usually necessary in order to fully comprehend their use of proverbs even so, proverbs may not always be crystal clear to even native speakers. Metaphorical speech was used not only in proverbs but also in *tambú* (to be explained below) songs, and is a form of speech practiced to a fine art. Metaphorical speech was a direct result of slavery, but has maintained its vitality and attraction in modern times. Elis Juliana has discussed this phenomenon pointing out that the trait of circumscribing unpleasant things by using a culture of euphemisms is a custom rooted in slavery when, because of oppression, slaves could not speak out freely.

During my childhood years the expression *kabei boto* was very well known and signified "a ride or a lift." However not many Papiamentu speakers today would know what *kabei boto* actually meant or how it originated. Hoefnagels and Hoogenbergen explain that *kabei boto* really means *kabes di boto* and is derived from [helm of the boat]. To ask for a *kabei boto* is to ask for a lift. The expression is explained in *Buki di Proverbionan Antiano* [Book of Antillean Proverbs] as follows:

> Pida un kabes di boto...biaha liber sin paga...Pòrnada...Den kabes di boto, esun ku ta sinta ei ta muha. Olanan ta spat i muha bo...si bo ke bai pòrnada, bo mester keda konforme ku e lugá ku ta disponibel; un lugá simpel i inkomodo (Hoefnagels & Hoogenbergen 1985: 72).

> Asking for a lift..means traveling without paying...Free...At the helm of the boat, the one sitting there will get wet. The waves break and make you wet...if you want to go for free, you must take what you can get; a simple and uncomfortable place.

If someone has committed fraud or is guilty of fraudulent activities, it is said that he has "played piano," meaning that he is light-fingered and performs slight of hand - *El a toka piano*. Some expressions are rather cruel. If someone has large ears for instance, the expression *E tin orea di para taxi*, signifies that one with such large ears need not hail a taxi, because the taxis will stop automatically. The use of proverbs is best explained as a means of neutralizing the effect of an otherwise unpleasant statement.

Papiamentu proverbs deal with every aspect of human life. Some proverbs are about authority, government oppression or power. The following proverbs, as most of the examples of Papiamentu proverbs in this dissertation, come from Hoefnagels and Hoogenbergen :

> **1.** *Na tera di galiña, kakalaka no tin bos* [lit. In the land of the hen, the cockroach has no voice - Might makes right].

In this first example it is apparent that the proverb exhibits a tropical viewpoint as cockroaches are mostly found in warm, moist areas. It is unknown which came first, the European version of this proverb or the Afro-Antillean one, yet it is clearly noticeable that while the underlying (read deep) values are similar, the more covert manifestation of the proverbs are clearly different. The Papiamentu proverb mentions both hen and cockroach, while the English one does not. Implied in the Papiamentu version is the concept of one being bigger and thus in a position of power over the other, which is also what comes through in the English version. Hoogenbergen and Hoefnagels write about this proverb:

> Na tera di galiña, kakalaka no tin bos: Sr. Leo Chance, minister pa Islanan Ariba, a yega di usa e ekspreshon aki durante un kumbre na Islanan Ariba, riba Status Aparte di Aruba. Ela abisa ku na e momentunan aki, e no ta papia nada pasobra, den su opinion, un kakalala no tin nada di buska den un kouchi di galiña. Loke e ke men ta, ku e Islanan chikitu no mester

entremeté nan den asuntu di e Islanan mas grandi (Hoefnagels & Hoogenbergen 1985: 27).

In the land of the chicken, the cockroach has no voice: Mr. Leo Chance, minister of the Above the Wind Islands, used this expression during a summit in the Windward islands, about the Status Apart of Aruba. He said that at this moment, he would not say anything, because in his opinion, a cockroach has no business in the chicken coop. What he meant was that, the smaller islands should not meddle in the affairs of the bigger islands.

2. *Esun ku yega prome, ta bebe awa limpi.* [lit. The one who arrives first, drinks clean water - The early bird catches the worm].

This Papiamentu proverb expresses the typical climatological situation in arid Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, where water is scarce and where it matters very much who arrives first to drink at the well. While the same proverb might apply in a situation in the Sahara desert, it clearly does not fit the typical European mold, where they prefer the image of the early bird who dines on the choicest worm. The overall meaning of benefitting by being first in line is equally clear both in the Papiamentu version and in the English one.

3. *Ora kachó ta na soño, laga e sigui drumi.* [lit. When the dog is asleep, let it continue sleeping - Let sleeping dogs lie].

This proverb has much the same sentiment in Papiamentu as it does in English. The same animal is used, in this case a dog, as well as the idea that one ought not to disturb the sleeping dog by waking it. Things should be left alone.

4. *Mi no ke ta un pruga de su karson.* [lit. I don't want to be a flea in his pants - I would not like to be in his shoes].

This proverb has clearly been adapted to the tropical scene where most slaves did not wear shoes. Each society tends to use its own experiences for the content of its proverbs. The use of humor is clearly seen in the following proverb.

5. ***Komedo di webu, no sa loke sanka di galiña ta sinti.*** [lit. The eater of an egg does not know what the ass of a chicken had to endure].

The proverb's sense is that behind something that looks relatively easy to accomplish there often hides a difficult task. A person may explain something clearly only because he has taken great pains to study it profoundly and well. While someone may speak seemingly with great ease and fluidity, hidden is the fact that he had to make extensive preparations.

The practice of not referring directly to sensitive matters is seen in the English expression: X, Y, Z. This expression is used to notify someone in a discreet way that his zipper is open. It is a round about way of signaling the person to examine his zipper. The English expression: Your nose is bleeding is also used to gently remind someone that his zipper is open. In Papiamentu the expression: *Bo pakus ta habri* [Your store is open] is used as well as the expression *Bo nanishi ta kore sanger* [Your nose is bleeding].

Riddles are another oral art form. Unlike the proverb, riddles are used for entertainment. Like the proverb, riddles are brief and concise, have a hidden meaning and possess a certain rhythm and tonal quality. Distinguishable from the proverb, riddles pose an explicit question, to which the listener must try to find an answer. In this category fall the following:

Mi kaska ta bruin.
Mi kabei ta gròf.
Tur kòki ta yora pareu ku mi.
Ken mi ta?

My skin is brown.
My hair is coarse.

All chefs cry just like I do.
What am I?

The answer is: An onion.

E tin skama,
Pero e no ta piská.
E tin korona,
Pero e no ta rei.
Ken e ta?

It has scales,
But is not a fish.
It has a crown,
But it is not a king.
What is it?

The answer is: A pineapple.

Guillermo Rosario, for example, has written two books of jokes in Papiamentu. The first one was written based on the rebellion of May 30, 1969 and is called *Humor Kajente* [Hot Humour]. The other one is based on the first flight to the moon and is called *Humor Lunatiko* [Lunatic Humour] (1970). The following is an example from *Humor Lunatiko*, entitled: *Promesa di un enamorado* [The promise of a man in love].

E homber: "Mi amor, bisami, i luna mes mi ta trese pabo...!"
E mosa: "Eh, eh.....esey sí bo no por hasi mas, pasobra e ta di Armstrong i Aldrin kaba!."

The man: "My love, just tell me, and I will give you even the moon...!"
The young woman: "Eh, eh.....that for sure you cannot do anymore, because it already belongs to Armstrong and Aldrin!"

The following comes from my own repertoire of Papiamentu jokes.

> Dosente: "Pakiko bo ta yora tantu asina, Janchi?"
> Janchi: "M'a...m'a...pèrdè un florin, mener."
> Dosente: "Stòp di yora awor! Ata un florin aki."
> Janchi: "Wè...wè...wè...!"
> Dosente: "Ma dikon bo ta sigui yora, anto mas duru ku awor ei?"
> Janchi: "Pasó ta duel mi mashá ku awor ei mi no a bisa mener ku ta dos florin m'a pèrdè."

> Teacher: "Why are you crying so much, Janchi?"
> Janchi: "I've...I've...lost one guilder, sir."
> Teacher: "Stop crying now. Here is a guilder."
> Janchi: "Wé...wé...wé...!"
> Teacher: "But why are you continuing to cry, and now even much harder than before?"
> Janchi: "Because I am so sorry that earlier I did not tell you, sir, that I actually lost two guilders.

Popular drama is yet another genre of oral literature. It can take the form of puppet shows, story telling with a live audience which has proscribed parts to recite, or else recorded radio programs. The importance of the oral traditions of Papiamentu cannot be overemphasized, because all the facts indicate that there is even today a growing awareness of the significance of oral literature and its relevance to the study of the Papiamentu speaking people, their identity and their culture.

There is a great variety of religious poetry in the ABC islands, such as hymns, occasion songs, prayers, and recitational poetry. While some of this poetry has been influenced by imported religions and some by other cultures, Papiamentu authors have composed their own as well. Some of the poems composed take the form of patriotic songs. Below are three selections of patriotic fervor as demonstrated in *Aruba dushi tera*, *Himno di Korsou*, and *Himno Bonaireano* (Broek 1998: 255-57).

Yet another form of Papiamentu oral poetry, the last in a list of genres I wish to highlight, is what is generally classified as children's songs and rhymes, lullabies, nursery rhymes and children's games. Mentioned below are *Dori, dori* and *Aja, na Seri Trapi.* Oral or folk literature in Papiamentu often included the much beloved Nanzi the spider stories. On the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao nearly everyone knows the figure of Compa Nanzi, a hero whose importance can be seen in the volume *Cuentanan di Nanzi* [Ananzi stories]. These stories are very old and have been passed on orally for centuries. It was only recently, toward the end of the last century, that they began to appear in print. Though the trickster figure exists in oral literatures world wide, the Nanzi spider tales are said to originate in West Africa, in Ghana with the Ashanti people (Baart, 1991). Nanzi the spider was physically much weaker than his foes and had to rely on his "bag of tricks" to survive. Likewise did the slaves depend on their "tricks" in difficult times. These stories, which were adapted to suit the new geographical situation, have been retold in Papiamentu and are claimed as original works, showing little of the original African folklore. They served as survival and even resistance techniques to oppression. Elis Juliana (1994) in *Un mushi di Haiku* uses Nanzi as well when he writes:

Nanzi ta papia
nèchi ku e muskita
promé ku e ku'é.

Nanzi is speaking
politely to the fly
before capturing it.

According to writer Cola Debrot, old rhyming lines such as *Dori, dori, si mi muri, kende ta derami, Ami, Ami, ami* had been mentioned by German geologist K. Martin (In

Rutgers, 1996) [Froggy, froggy, if I die, who will bury me? I will.] To this day these words are sung as a rhyming song and are very familiar to Antilleans. Another old rhyme that is used to this very day is similar to the English nursery rhyme "This little piggy went to market." The Papiamentu version is called *Dede pikiña ku su bisiña* [Pinky finger and his neighbour], according to Florimon van Putte (1999: 9) and reads as follows:

Dede pikiña ku su bisiña,
Mayor di todo,
Fulambeu ta piki su pieu.
Galiña ta buska su huebu,
Su huebu, su huebu,
T'ei bou el'a hañ'e.

Pinky finger and his neighbour,
The longest one.
The index finger picks off fleas.
A chicken looks for her eggs,
Her egg, her egg
And there she finally finds it.

The person who recites this rhyme holds the closed fist of another in his hand and opens one by one the fingers beginning with the pinky finger. At the sentence where the chicken looks for her egg, the reciter makes circling motions with his index finger over the now open hand. At the last sentence the reciter moves his finger along the arm and suddenly tickles the other in his armpit. The Portuguese connection in Papiamentu is clearly noted as the names of the fingers in Portuguese closely match those in Papiamentu.

Papiamentu	Portuguese	English
dede pikiña	dedo mindinho	pinky finger
su bisiña	seu vizinho	ring finger
mayor di todo	pai de todos	middle finger
fulambeu	fura-bolo	index finger

piki su pieu mata-piolho thumb

Another custom of oral history is the traditional New Year's song or serenade. A group of friends, led by a leader, go from house to house on New year's Eve and sometimes this continues on to the next day, to wish the occupants of a house a prosperous and healthy New Year. The well-wishers sing and are accompanied by a guitar, a small drum, and a *wiri-wiri*. This last is a musical instrument that looks like a large rasp which is rubbed or scraped with a thin, long rod. It is customary to treat the musicians well wishers to a shot of liquor so they might continue on to the next house. One of the versions of this New Year Eve's song is recorded by Father Brenneker (Brenneker 1959: 29). It is said that New Year's Day is not a day on which one works. Instead one goes to parties and gives parties where one dances and plays. The term *dande* means "rejoice or celebrate."

Anja nobo eh dande
anyo nobo
anyo nobo
anja nobo dande
anja nobo eh dande
Awe ta dia 'i hunga laga para
eh hunga laga para
anja nobo eh dande
anja nobo bida nobo
anja nobo eh dande
nos ta bebe hunga laga para
ai laga para
anja nobo eh dande.

New Year, hey rejoice
New Year
New Year
New Year, rejoice
New Year, hey rejoice

Today is a day to just play
hey, play and don't work
New Year, hey rejoice
New Year, New Life
New Year, hey rejoice
We are drinking and playing, not working
oh, don't work!
New Year, hey rejoice.

In *The Story of Papiamentu,* Gary Fouse states that languages that have not been converted to writing depend to a large extent on oral tradition. African languages in their pre-literary stage were no exception. He writes:

> Story-telling in Africa by *griots* (story-tellers) has a long tradition in Africa. Foremost among these story-tellers were the Twi-speaking Ashanti *griots* of present-day Ghana. During the evenings, it was customary for members of the community to gather and listen to tales of the *griots*. During the story, the others would break out in song and dance accompanied by drums and gongs (Fouse 2002: 163).

It follows then that when African slaves came to the Caribbean they brought with them their customs and oral traditions as well. One of the stories transposed from Africa to the Caribbean were the Ananzi spider stories. While in Africa the spider stories had decidedly creator/mythical qualities. However, once transplanted in the Caribbean, the stories began to mirror the new environment and the new circumstances the African slaves found themselves in. No longer masters of their own fate, the yoke of slavery firmly upon their shoulders, the stories from Africa, with Ananzi as a mythical figure now changed drastically to reflect the slaves' new reality. Ananzi instead became the sly, scheming underdog who always tried to outwit his more powerful adversaries.

The oral tradition belonged to the slaves, not to the masters. The songs and stories pertained to various aspects of life in servitude, most often applying an indirect or

evasive tactic. The collections gathered by Paul Brenneker and Elis Juliana relate to life as slaves, the arrival in a foreign and hostile environment, protest and resistance, escape and ultimately emancipation. Is it any wonder that many of the songs were performed in a somber and minor key? In this way the songs effectively denoted the hopelessness of their situation. In order to render the songs even more inaccessible to the masters, the Guene language was used, instead of, or in combination with Papiamentu. After the events of the thirtieth of May, 1969, a strong renewal both creative as well as reflective, was noted in the oral tradition and in a reorientation of a cultural heritage as well as a re-connection with African roots. As a result, the oral tradition in general and the celebration of the *tambú* in particular came to play an important role as one of the most authentic cultural expressions of Curaçao. This re-appreciation of their oral tradition showed itself in the various studies, research papers and theses written by Antilleans.

To suggest that the oral tradition ceased to exist once literacy developed is wrong. During a recent visit to the islands it was my pleasure to attend a *tambú* celebration and to note first hand that the oral tradition is alive and thriving. At the same time the efforts by Antilleans like Antoine Maduro, Guillermo Rosario, Elis Juliana, Rene Rosalia, Maria Diwan, and others have been instrumental in preserving the oral traditions of stories, songs, and proverbs. In turn, preserving the oral tradition gave rise to the growth of literary writing in Papiamentu, the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: A Papiamentu Workshop II - Written Literature

The Roman Catholic clergy who served as folklorists and saved many of the early Papiamentu songs and oral forms, were also the ones who worked untiringly to ban the *tambú* songs and dances, out of a sense of morality (Rosalia, 1997). It is impossible to underestimate the role that the Catholic Church had and still has in Papiamentu literature. Father Paulus Poiesz, Wein Hoyer and Joseph Sickman Corsen, also nicknamed the *"trio di Pietermaai"* [The Pietermaai Trio], were the composers of a series of church songs, both texts, and music. These songs are still popular and include "Hesus ki grandi stimacion" [Jesus, what great love], "Larga dobla nos rudia" [Let us fall to our knees], "O curazon benigno" [Oh gracious heart] and "Adios te despues" [God be with you till we meet again]. These songs were translated from either Spanish or Dutch into Papiamentu (Broek 1998: 12).

Sidney Joubert writes that regardless of how one feels about the Church, it is certain that the clergy was occupied in providing spiritual care, religious instruction, education, and social assistance to all, but especially to those on the lowest socio-economic rung of society and that this care occurred in Papiamentu. Joubert recalls that in the beginning some Catholic services were in Latin, but soon Papiamentu was used in the churches within the city as well as in the *kunuku* [countryside]. Joubert states:

> Te dia djawe mi ta kòrda promé pregunta di les di katisashi: Pakiko nos ta na mundu? I e kontesta ku nos mester a siña for di kabes tabata: Nos ta na mundu pa sirbi Dios i gana shelu (In Broek 1998: 12).

✻

> Until this very day I remember the first question in the catechism lesson: Why are we on earth? And the answer which we had to learn by heart was:

We are on the earth to serve God and to gain entry to heaven.

Early on the Catholic Church translated works into Papiamentu in the effort to reach the common people. They produced catechisms, Bible readings, songs, and educational materials in Papiamentu. Below is the beginning paragraph of *Chella, un bon mucha* [Chella, a good girl], a booklet that tells the story about the almost heroic attitude of a very sick little girl (Brenneker 1951: 4):

> Cu October awor ta haci tres anja, cu Chella a muri. Pero den memoria di tur hende cu a conoce, el a keda asina bibu, cu ta manera ajera mes cu nan a bishite i assisti na su cama di enfermedad.

> Now in October it has been three years since Chella passed away. But in everyone's memory, of those who knew her, she remains so alive, that it is as if just yesterday they visited her and assisted her at the bedside.

A sample of a Bible translation into Papiamentu is from John 3: 16 (Ratzlaff, 2001):

> Pasobra Dios a stima mundu asina tantu ku El a duna su Yiu unigènito, pa ken ku kere den djE, no bai pèrdí, ma tin bida etèrno.

> For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Lang writes that most cathechistic texts are better examples of historical documents than literary ones, yet they cannot be separated from the early history of Creole writing. Since the eighteenth century, Papiamentu was used by the Roman Catholic priests, who used this language to make contact with the local population. Father Niewindt arrived in Curaçao in 1824 and published the first catechism lesson in Papiamentu. Papiamentu was used not only in sermons, but Niewindt began to teach school in Papiamentu and was

actively engaged in the creation and publication of instructional material in Papiamentu for both the church and school (Claassen 1992: 19). The priests also started the tradition of creating religious drama in Papiamentu. They translated and adapted European plays into Papiamentu, but were known to write original Papiamentu plays as well. In the second half of the nineteenth century preaching in Papiamentu continued. Both in the Roman Catholic churches as well as in the Protestant churches Papiamentu was used to reach the people. Roman Catholic and Protestant religious workers helped produce an impressive amount of creative writing in the people's mother tongue, Papiamentu, with the sole aim of getting them to be able to read the Bible. Anton Claassen writes:

> Zo was er in 1855 een *Ewanheli di San Matheo,* poeblicado abau di direksjon di Domini Conradi. Van Dissel publiceerde in 1865 zijn *Evangeli segoen Marko*, en dominee Kuiperi preekte op Aruba in het Papiamento. In 1915 vertaalde de op Aruba wonende dominee G. J. Eybers met behulp van Mw. E. M. Croes het Nieuwe Testament (Claassen 1992: 19).

> Thus we see in 1855 a *Gospel of St. Matthew*, published under the direction of Minister Conradi. Van Dissel published in 1865 his *Gospel according to Marc* and Minister Kuiperi preached in Aruba in Papiamentu. In 1915, G.J. Eybers who lived at that time on Aruba, translated the New Testament with the help of Mrs. E.M. Croes.

These efforts by the clergy continue to this day. Father Amado Römer, for example, is one who understands that emergent forms of literary Creole are enmeshed in moments of self-definition, and that to assume a status of independent literary value, means to write in Papiamentu for a Papiamentu speaking audience. Having evolved mostly from a slave economy, where the slave was considered as being barely above the animal level, notions of self were understandably underdeveloped. That is why Father Amado Römer wrote a

soul defining and soul searching psychological work, aimed at his people, called *Hende. Ken e ta?* [Man. What is he?] (Römer, 2000). His argument is that an ethno-text must not only be about Creole, but also written in Creole. Lang writes that Papiamentu is unique among Creoles, and that the basis of this uniqueness must be attributed "in the first instance to the Churches, mainly the Catholic Church, and particularly to the prolific press of the former Dominican mission" (2000: 194).

According to Pierre Lauffer, around 1915 there was a notable transition in the history of the literature of Curaçao. Up to that time, Lauffer contends that the literature that was produced on the island was imitation, romantic literature written in Spanish and cloning the era of Romanticism. Lang argues that "creole speakers have systematically been discouraged from achieving literacy in their native language, hence from acquiring complex literary forms and the premeditated rhetorical strategies writing affords" (142). Any writing in Creole can thus be looked at as a conscious act in which the author deliberately takes on the role of cultural spokesperson. While at first the European imagination was mirrored in writings by Caribbean authors, there came a time when authors began to use the Creole language as a vehicle of creation, using Afro-Antillean tonal rhythms as a show of resistance and cultural identity. One of the poems of that era is the first one featured in this chapter. It is called *Atardi* [Evening, Sunset or Dusk] by Joseph Sickman Corsen and was published in 1915. Corsen's focus on big European names of his era is understandable. At the beginning he concentrated mostly on the German Heinrich Heine, notably the poem *Die Lorelei* (*Das Buch der Lieder*, 1827), yet Corsen's version, *Atardi*, does more closely resemble the work of Bécquer. Corsen's admiration for Bécquer dates from the time when he worked for the musical-literary magazine *Notas y Letras* (Broek 1998: 43). Lang writes about this poem:

> Though Dutch, the official language, might seem the most logical conduit for European influence, Spanish has frequently provided the literary models. Josef Sickman Corsen's poem "Atardi" (Sunset), known by heart by many, is actually the translation of a Spanish version of Heinrich Heine's poem Ich weisz nicht was soll es bedeuten, not the original (253).

Below the Papiamentu poem *Atardi* by Joseph Sickman Corsen:

Ta pakiko, mi no sa;
Ma esta tristu mi ta bira,
Tur atardi ku mi mira
Solo baha den laman.

Talbes ta un presentimentu,
O ta un rekuerdo kisas;
Podisé n'ta nada mas
Ku un kos di temperamentu.

P'adilanti podisé
Mi ta mira na kaminda
Un doló ku n'nase ainda
Ma ku lo mi kononosé?

Te aworó? Ma henter anochi?
Esta largu anochi ta;
Kuantu kos ku nos no sa
E ta skonde den su skochi.

Promé solo bolbe hari,
Tempu tin pa hopi kos;
I Dios sa kuantu di nos
Morto den anochi a bari.

Kousa mi doló no tin;
Ma esta tristu mi ta bira
Semper ku mi para mira
Dia yega na su fin.

Why it is I do not know
Such sadness overcomes me,
At eventide when I see
The sun sinking low.

Perhaps it is a foreboding,
Or a remembrance maybe;
It could also be nothing more
Than a product of my personality.

In the future maybe
I will encounter on my way
A pain, not yet realized
But which I will come to recognize?

Later? But after the whole night?
Oh what a never ending night;
We know not how many things
Are hidden by the night.

Before the sun laughingly returns,
A lot can happen;
And God knows how many of us
Death will carry away.

I know not the reason for my pain;
Yet I am so sad.
Always when I see
The day drawing to an end.

The history of written poetry of Aruba dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century, when Frederick Beaujon (1880-1920) filled up exercise books with poems written in Papiamentu, Spanish, and English. As early as 1907, some two years after Joseph Sickman Corsen wrote his *Atardi,* Beaujon wrote poems about himself and his family. In 1918 he translated Lord Byron's famous poem *The Prisoner of Chillon*, and he dedicated an ode in Papiamentu to this great English romantic poet. Beaujon is

considered to be the pioneer of Aruban poetry. After Beaujon it remained very quiet on the literary front, giving the impression that nothing much had been written during that time. Perhaps the fact that nothing was published during this time, may simply mean that valuable literary material, up to now hidden in old family archives, is awaiting discovery and publication (Williams 2000: 27).

Many Papiamentu plays have been adapted from Dutch, Spanish, and English literature. In some cases the adaptations stray rather far from the original play. This is clearly the case with *Don Pancho Picaflor* by René de Rooy, in which *Cyrano de Bergerac* can be recognized. There was a popular song that made the rounds that is based on this play (Brenneker 1959: 29):

Aja na Seri Trapi
tin un homber sapaté
su nomber ta Don Pancho
su fam ta Picaflor.
Don Pancho Picaflor
Don Pancho Picaflor
ai, ai, ai
Don Pancho Picaflor.

There by Seri Trapi (this is a neighborhood in Otrabanda)
there lives a shoemaker.
His name is Don Pancho
and his last name is Picaflor
Don Pancho Picaflor
Don Pancho Picaflor
oh, oh, oh
Don Pancho Picaflor.

Another play that was adapted was George Bernhard Shaw's *Pygmalion*. The basic idea for this play is neither Shaw's nor is it modern. Greek mythology has a sculptor named

Pygmalion who found his only solace among his statues. It is interesting to note first how the English play version begins and to compare that with the version in Papiamentu by May Henriquez. The title which May Henriquez chooses for her Papiamentu adaptation of Shaw's play comes from the first syllable of Pygmalion -pig- which in Papiamentu is *porko*. The whole title of this play in Papiamentu is *Laiza, porko sushi* [Laiza, Dirty Pig]. The play is a satire on superficial class distinctions and related topics such as middle class morality and marriage. In Pygmalion, the father of the heroine is made to describe himself as one of the undeserving poor. The author, writing a critical essay on the character, levels criticism at English. While Shaw is seen to be a playwright, he must also be considered a propagandist. He had the habit of always allying himself with the under-dog. He seems always to try to be the champion of lost causes. Shaw's play begins in Convent Garden at 11:15 A.M. on a rainy day. There are frantic hails for cabs and pedestrians are running for shelter under the portico of St. Paul's Church. A lady and her daughter are among the group at the portico. All except one man are looking darkly and moodily at the downpour. The man seems completely engrossed in his task of writing in a notebook. The lady and her daughter are complaining about Freddy, who has gone to find a cab for them. Chilled with cold in the damp weather, the daughter complains that her brother Freddy is a loser who has no gumption. When Freddy returns with his verdict, that he could not find a single available cab, he collides with a flower girl, knocking her basket of flowers out of her hands.

In contrast May Henriquez' adaptation begins in front of a movie theater in Curaçao. Freddy goes to get the car from the parking lot, while mother and daughter wait out of the rain underneath a dry overhang. Freddy returns to say that he cannot start the car and gestures with the open umbrella. In doing so, he upsets a small display table of a

peanut seller, scattering her wares to the ground. Henriquez changed the setting from Convent Garden, England to the Cinelandia in Otrabanda, the flower girl to a peanut seller and makes other changes that fit into the Caribbean scenery. In Shaw's *My Fair Lady*, the young woman is being taught "good English" to raise her prestige. Speaking Papiamentu and the consciousness of its position in Curaçao is broadly analogous.

Other adaptations into Papiamentu include *Ami, dokter? Lubidá* based on *Le Médecin malgré lui* and *Shon Pichiri*, based on *l'Avare* [Molière] by May Henriquez, *Illushon di Anochi*, based on William Shakespeare's *A Mid-summer Night's Dream* by Jules de Palm (Broek, 49). There have also been adaptations of religious plays. *Mari de Malpais* by Raúl Römer, for instance, is an adaptation of the miracle play from early Dutch literature, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*. Johannes Baptist de Caluwé writes:

> Dramatic art in Papiamentu today mainly serves the role of providing a critical view of the present state of affairs and abuses in society while analyzing the past. Significant then, is the *Nos Causa* [Our goal], a theatre company which has been concerned with these activities for several years. Equally significant are the titles of some plays...such as *Mi koló ta mi destino?* [Is my color my fate?]...The more recent productions, however, essentially represent a search for identity. Now that the Antillean society has become a source of inspiration for conscious, involved dramatic art, Papiamentu novelists...have turned to writing for the stage as well...It can be observed that these plays not only attempt to depict and interpret the past, but these compositions also appeal to folklore, in the search for a style of writing that is based on the strongly developed sense of the Caribbean personality (De Caluwé 1980: 40-42).

About serial novels, another genre employed in Papiamentu literatures, Anton Claassen writes that during the twenties and thirties, Papiamentu newspapers such as *La Cruz* and *La Union*, published under the section "feuilletons" a number of original novels of moralizing/religious character by such renowned Curaçaoan authors as W. E. Kroon, Manuel Antoine Fraai, Simon Miguel Suriel, and others. The Aruban feuilleton author, E.

Petronia published in 1932 in the newspaper, *La Cruz*, his *Venganza di un Amigo* [Revenge of a Friend] (Claassen 1992: 27). Aart Broek mentions that the paper *Civilisadó* followed the French model of including a chapter of a novel in each newspaper issue. For example, from May 1873 until May 1874, the *Civilisadó* printed the novel *John Brown* by Henry E. Margrand in chapters. The novel was translated from English into Papiamentu. (See Appendix III for an example of a serial novel - Chapter 8 of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, translated by Jossy Mansur, as well as an example of the story of Joseph).

Until the early part of the twentieth century publishing was mostly the monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church. Broek observes that eventually authors who distanced themselves from the influence of the Church began to publish independently. Of note here are the efforts of Pierre Lauffer, J. de Palm, Amador Nita and R. de Rooy. Worthy of note also is the publication of Papiamentu prose and poetry by such authors as A. P. Nita and Guillermo Rosario (Broek 1990: 12). Papiamentu authors were beginning to opt for a completely different form of distribution method and targeted a different circle of readers. They sold their simply duplicated books for mere dimes in the corner stores and even went door to door. While in Curaçao the magazines *Simadán* and *Kristòf* waged a war to see an increase in the scientific research on Papiamentu, in Aruba this sense of pride in writing in Papiamentu developed a bit later, a tribute to the tireless work by among others, Tip Marugg, Hubert Booi, and Ernesto Rosentand. By the late sixties their efforts blossomed in young talents such as Federico Oduber, Nicolas Piña Lampe, Henry Habibe, and Todd Dandaré, to name but a few.

Pierre Antoine Lauffer was born in Curaçao on August 22, 1920 and passed away on June 14, 1981, at the age of 61 (Broek 1998: 13). That Pierre Lauffer had a love for

his native tongue, Papiamentu, and a vision for its longevity in the form of literary production, is readily apparent in the following poem he wrote in 1969 (13-14). It is taken from the collection *Kumbu*, 1955, in which Lauffer celebrates the dance called *Tumba*. According to Edgar Palm (1992) and Robert Rooyer (1990), both the *tambú* and the *tumba* terms include the music, rhythm, and dance of African origins brought over to Curaçao and played, sung, and danced by the African slaves. The word *tumba* refers to the musical instrument - a drum, the dance, and the musicians. In the nineteenth century the *tumba* evolved from the *tambú* into a more refined and appropriate (according to Western concepts) music and dance for the high society of the *shons* [masters], and so entered the ballrooms of the estates. (The *tambú* will be discussed in more detail below). Nowadays the *tumba* has the function of a road march for the Carnival parades, while the *tambú* acquired more the function of critical and social protest songs, especially at end of year festivities and performances.

Tumba

Kanga bo saya
Dui, mi korona
Kokobiá tumba
Te mardrugá.

Yanga, mi skèrchi,
Di puru stabachi,
Zoya, mi bichi
Bo kurpa ankra.

Faha bo kustia
Mucha djingueli
Balia, mi prenda
Lagami morchá.

Tumba Dance

Lift up your skirt,
Darling, my crown.
Celebrate the *tumba*
Till the early morning hours.

Sway your hips,
My dark beauty,
Twist, my love,
Your voluptuous body.

Cover your body
You little mischief.
Dance, my darling
Until I am exhausted.

Ramon Todd Dandaré was born in Rioacha, Colombia on September 21, 1942, but came to live in Aruba at an early age (Williams 2000: 45). He is a linguist who is employed by a governmental agency called the *Instituto Linguistico Arubiano*. Some of his poems have been published in the periodical *Watapana*, in the Aruban anthology, *Cosecha Arubiana*, as well as in *Callaloo*. The theme of the poem below is the desire of the author to change the appearance of his island. The verb *cambia* [change] may point however to more than an external change in the appearance of the island and may in fact include a wish for change in the political and social aspects of the island. Below are the first two verses from his famous poem *Isla di mi* [Island of mine].

Isla di mi

Isla di mi, mi kier
cambia bo fashi
Mi kier sinta pafo

na Hudishibana
skirbi cu piedra
mi nomber
den santo
y laga olanan
lora bin kit'e.

Mi kier subi riba
bo lombrishi
y tira e flor di kibrahacha
p'e baha cu biento
y cubri bo cu oro.
Mi kier dobla e watapana
bir'e cara pariba
y saca tur su djus
pa mi yena mi mes k'e forsa
dje primitivo indjan.

Island of Mine

Island of mine, I want
to change your face.
I want to sit outside
near *Hudishibana*, (place on Aruba)
write with a stone
my name
in the sand
and let the waves
wash it away again.

I want to climb onto
your navel
and pull off the *kibrahacha* flower (lit. break your ax - a kind of tree)
to tumble in the wind
and cover you with gold.
I want to twist the *Watapana* tree (also known as the *divi-divi* tree)
to face the East
squeezing out its sap
to renew myself with the vigor

of the primitive Indian.

Ramon Dandaré is writing about the *Hudishibana* dunes in Aruba, where he wants to sit in the stillness of nature, far removed from the noise of the world. Outside, near the waves that wash endlessly against the sand, erasing the name he has written there, he wants to rest and witness the ever cyclical movements of change. Writing names in the sand or in trees is a well-known symbol of love, a theme raised in the second verse. Dandaré personifies the island, and gives it the likeness of a girl, whose body he wants to cover with the golden flowers of the *kibrahacha* tree. The object of the writer is to see an awakening of the Antillean. His poem speaks about the *watapana* tree, also known as the *divi-divi* tree, well-known because of its form that accommodates the ever-blowing north-east trade wind. He calls on the Antillean to stand up, to be strong and to become conscious of his own identity (Claassen 1992: 106-112).

Hubert Booi was born in Bonaire on July 25, 1919, but moved to Aruba at a young age. He worked in Aruba as a governmental official (Williams 2000: 57). Active in the theatre and in music, Booi wrote the famous musical *Pèrla di Karibe* [Pearl of the Caribbean], in which he injected many Indian names. His best known poem is *E Ultimo Karibe* [The Last Carib Indian] which clearly shows the "Indianness" which is typical for Aruba authors, but also appears in Curaçaoan poetry. Booi identifies with the stubborn Indian. In Aruba the indigenous Indian element always played a dominant role. Aruba turned out to be one of the few Caribbean islands where the Amerindian population of Arawak descent was preserved and form part of the community. The introduction of the separate status of Aruba had as result many poetic efforts with Indianism as their theme. Booi belongs to a group that idealized Indianism and his *E Ultimo Karibe* belongs to an

ensemble of Indianistic literature that is unique in Aruba. Henry Habibe offers an explanation on the phenomenon of Indianism when he writes:

> Indianistic literature exists throughout Latin America, from Argentina to Mexico. We can safely say that it is unique in its kind in our language, or to be more precise in Aruba, as in Curaçao that kind (Indianism) does not exist. In his romantic effort Booi found an original note for Aruba (local color) and so he succeeded to identity himself with an Indian: 'The Last Carib'. And to express his nationalism the poet availed himself of an option very frequently used in 'Romanticism' in Latin America: identification with an Indian (In Williams 2000:33).

The theme of the poem *E Ultimo Karibe* is the harsh treatment of the Indians, and the attempted eradication of this race. While the translation offers a view into the beauty of this poem, much of this is lost because the original rhyme and rhythm is no longer there. This is a textual translation and the only point connecting it to poetry is the division into stanzas. The theme of this poem is the well documented genocide of the Indians, a topic written about by Bartolomew de las Casas, when he wrote in the 1600s, "They have cruelly and inhumanely butchered some three million people, overrunning their cities and villages, sparing no sex, nor age, ripping open the bellies of pregnant women and taking out the infants to hew them into pieces" (Casas 1972: 95). Booi's poem recounts that the colonial powers evicted the Indians from their land, abused them, and killed them off. The poet shares with his readers his love for his island, the futile resistance to colonial power, and the Indian people whose name lives on eternally in the name of the Caribbean Sea, and thus secured their name and heritage. Booi describes the proud Indian, using the words *wowo penetrante* [piercing eyes]. He includes the inequality of the colonizer and the Indian and gives it a likeness of the fight between Good and Evil. Finally only one Indian is left to represent all other Indians and hence the title *E último Karibe* (Claassen

1992: 56).

E Ultimo Karibe

T'ami t'esun indjan, ku wowo penetrante
Ku a biba den baranka, den mondinan skondí
Mi pianan a kamna, a kore tur instante,
Pa konosé mi isla, mi pèrla tan kerí.

Lamánan di tur kosta ta konosé mi kara,
Kadushinan den seru sa sinti mi klamor,
Mi mannan tembloroso, a sklama sin ripara,
Pa libra nos un dia, fo'i man di e opresor.

Ku huña den mi karni, m'a lucha, bringa duru,
Pa skapa dor di e gara di hendenan brutal.
M'a kome kokolishi, kalkó i karni puru,
Pa haya fortalesa, pa bringa p'un ideal.

Rumannan di mi tribu, nan tur a bay lagami,
Ranká manera bestya, matá i abow bentá.
Awor ta yega turno na e último!Ligami!
Awé ta boso dia, mayan NOS ta mentá.

Kayukonan a krusa e lamá yen di misteryo
Nos hendenan balente a plama tur kamin'
Rikesanan di mundu, ni plaka, ni Imperyo
Tur kos a para kaba te yega na un fin.

Historia si ta konta di un lamá gloryoso,
Nos gran lamá KARIBE bow shelu tropikal.
Herensya inborabel di gereronan famoso,
Ku a laga pa rekwerdo, nan nòmber immortal.

The Last Carib Indian

I am that Indian with piercing eye
who lived in caves, in the hidden country side
I walked around untiringly
To get to know my island, my dearest pearl.

Seas of all coasts know my face,
The cacti in the hills sense my agitation.
My trembling hands plead unceasingly
To be delivered form the oppressor's hand.

With nails pressed into my palms, I fought hard
To escape the clutches of brutal men.
I ate shellfish and raw meat
To receive strength to fight for an ideal.

My tribal brothers all went away
Forcibly removed, killed and dumped on the ground.
Now is the turn of the last remaining one! Destroy me!
Today is yours, tomorrow only we will be mentioned.

Tribal chiefs have crossed the mysterious sea
Our heroes have spread out all over.
The world's riches, money, dominion,
All have died and reached their end.

But history recounts a glorious sea
Our great Caribbean Sea 'neath tropical sky.
The indelible heirloom of famous warriors
Who left us a keepsake, their immortal name.

Ernesto Rosenstand, born in Colombia on March 4, 1931, lived and worked in Aruba as a teacher and poet, and published a collection of children's stories with the title *Kuentanan Rubiano* [Aruban Stories] which featured prominently on a children's radio program (Williams 2000:139). He also wrote a musical called *Wadirikiri*, which is an Indian name. The following poem, also called *Wadirikiri* is clearly a love poem and

conveys its romantic ardor through attention to exotic details in nature. The first stanza has something that reminds one of Corsen's *Atardi*, where the sun is about to set. It is when the sun sets in the sea and evening covers the sky with its dark mantle, that love blossoms. The mention in the second stanza of bee stings, which seem strange in a love poem, is explained however by Claassen when he writes:

> Liefde dringt het bloed binnen. Daarop volgt het beeld van wespen in de regels 10 en 11. De buitenlucht en het verlangen naar liefde roepen een tinteling wakker, die Rosenstand vergelijkt met het steken van duizend wespen. Dit beeld houdt verband met het vruchtbaarheidsritueel van de Indianen...Daarbij ondergaan de jongens, die geïniteerd worden, een wespenproef. Ze dragen een matje met wespen tegen borst, armen en gezicht. Men gaat ervaan uit dat mannen door dit ritueel nieuwe krachten opdoen. Het beeld van stekende wespen voor liefde die in het bloed komt is in the Papiaments minder tegenstrijdig dan wij Nederlanders zouden denken, omdat de wespen on Aruba minder pijnlijk steken (Claassen 1992: 66).

> Love enters the blood. Following is the image of wasps in lines 10 and 11. The outside air and the longing for love initiates a tingling sensation, which Rosenstand likens to the stinging of a thousand wasps. This image is in accordance with the fertility rite of the Indians...Boys wanting to be initiated undergo some kind of wasp ordeal. They carry a layer of wasps against their chest, arms and face. It seems that men are bestowed with new powers through this ritual. The image of stinging wasps for love to enter the body is less contradictory in Papiamentu than we as Dutch people would think, because the sting of a wasp hurts less in Aruba.

Wadirikiri (1)

Ora solo
kai den Karibe
i anochi
kubri ku su manto
tur deseo di amor

e ora mi ta sinti bo
serka mi.

Ora amor
drenta sanguer
ta mil maribomba
ta hinka bo kurpa
lanta pashón
ku a keda drumí.

Ora muhé
stima homber
ki por ta strobé?

Wadirikiri (1)

When the sun
sets in the Caribbean Sea
and night
covers with its mantle
all desire for love
then I sense you
near me.

When love
enters the blood
it is as if a thousand wasps
sting your body.
Ignite passion
that was slumbering.

When a woman
loves a man
what will stand in her way?

Patriotism took other forms as can be noted from the following patriotic poetry that was written as national songs. Three such examples are *Aruba dushi tera, Hymno di*

Kòrsou and *Himno Bonaireano* (Broek 1998: I.254-7). (While the Aruban national anthem will be presented below. (See Appendix II for the national anthems of Curaçao and of Bonaire).

Aruba dushi tera

Aruba patria apreciá
nos cuna venerá.
Chikitu i sempel bo por ta,
pero sí respetá.

O Aruba, dushi terra, nos baranca tan stimá,
Nos amor pa bo ta asina grandi,
cu n'tin nada pa kibr'e,

Bo playanan ta admira
cu palma tur dorná.
Bo escudo y bandera ta
Orguyo di nos tur.

Grandesa di bo pueblo
ta su gran cordialidad,
cu Dios por guia y conserba
su amor pa libertad.

Aruba, beloved land

Aruba, respected country,
Our hallowed cradle,
Small and simple you may be,
But respected, yes.

Oh, Aruba, sweet land, our rock so beloved,
Our love for you is so great
that nothing can break it apart,
that nothing can sever it.

Your beaches are cherished,
Completely adorned with palms.
Your shield and flag
Are the pride of us all.

The greatness of your people
is their hospitality;
may God guide and preserve
their love for liberty.

Although the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao are unique, what these anthems have in common is their geographical situation in the Caribbean. As such they all display the tropical topography complete with rocky soil, ever blowing wind, sun, and sandy beaches. These anthems speak of the relative smallness of the islands, displacement, past and present, love of country and thankfulness to God for a homeland. In 1944, the Aruban composer Padú Lampe created the following love poem, that is still sung on the islands. This poem is set to music also composed by Padú Lampe and has a haunting waltz melody and is called *Abo So* [Only you].

Abo So

Ku henter mi alma
Ku henter mi bida
T'asina mi sa stima
I t'abo so m'a stima
Bou tur sirkunstansia
I te na mi morto
Lo mi sigui stima bo
Abo so, abo so.

Ki dia lo mi tin e honor
Di karisiá bo ku mi amor
I sinti bo dulsura
den un sunchi kalor?

Ai mare t'awe nochi mes
Ai mare ta awor un bes
Mi por entregábo tur mi kurason.

Only You

With my whole soul
With all my life
That is how I do love
And it is only you I love
Under all circumstances
And until death
Will I continue to love you
Only you, only you.

When will I have the honour
To caress you with my love
And taste your sweetness
In a passionate kiss?
I wish it were tonight
I wish it were right now
That I could surrender to
You my whole heart.

Elis Juliana was born on August 8, 1927, in Curaçao. He is a well known and beloved poet who has been writing prose and poetry nearly all his life, mostly in Papiamentu, but also in Spanish, Dutch, and English. In the course of his artistic career he has been engrossed in various forms of expression, searching for yet other innovative ways to express himself. Since the early 1950s his literary contributions in Papiamentu number over a dozen collections of poetry and short stories. These writings cultivate as no other the intrinsic, rhythmic and tonal aspects of the language as he depicts the Afro-Caribbean lifestyles of his people. The humor whereby he typifies the character and individuality of the Antillean embraces the pain, hope, and aspiration of the islands and

its peoples. Juliana has also contributed extensively to children's writing in Papiamentu. A distinguished visual artist with international exhibitions in New York, Brazil, Jamaica, Aruba and Curaçao, Juliana is equally recognized for his ethnographic work specializing in local folklore and the oral tradition. Some of his earlier literary works include: *Dama di Anochi* [Lady of the night] (1959), *Aventura di un Kriki* [Adventures of a Cricket] (1960), and the *OPI (Organisashon Planifikashon Independensia)* [Organization for the Planning of Independence] series (1979-83). He is a poet who pub ishes his craft in the *Amigoe di Korsou*, alternating one week in Papiamentu and the next week in Dutch.

With his poetry Juliana endeavors to stimulate the reader to contemplate life, both the good as well as the disastrous events. He equates poetry with the very soul and pride of a people. He believes that there does not exist a people without a culture and wonders who determines how superior and progressive a culture is. A striking feature of much poetry in Papiamentu is the Afro-Antillean musical rhythmic metre and the handling of sound patterns inherent in the language itself, which seem to be a direct descendant of oral literary tradition he and Father Brenneker collected. The poem which follows, needs to be heard aloud so as to receive the full effect from Juliana's masterful use of rhythm.

Hé Patu

Hé patu ta janga.
Hé patu ta rondia
Hun tiki kuminda
Pa su muchanan.

Hé pa ki.
Hé pa ya.
Hé pa ki.
Hé pa ya.

Hé patu ta zoja.
Su yuinan den fila.
Nan rabu ta zoja
Mescos cu mamá.

Hé pa ki.
Hé pa ya.
Hé pa ki.
Hé pa ya.

Hé patu ta mira
Hun tiki cuminda
Pone den un bleki
Den huki cura.

Hé pa ki
Hé pa ya.
Hé pa ki.
Hé pa ya.

Hé patu ta come.
Su yiunan ta come
Te ora nan laga
Hé blicki bashí.

Kiko ta muchanan?
Kiko ta?
Hé baricanan tur
Ta jená?

Hé patu ta canga
Su saja di patu.
Su yuinan ta sigi
Den fila su tras.

Hé pa ki.
Hé pa ya.
Hé pa ki.
Hé pa ya.

The Duck

The duck sashays.
The duck looks for
A bit of food
For her offspring.

This-a-way,
That-a-way.
This way,
And that.

The duck waddles.
Her ducklings in tow.
Their tails are a-swishing
Just like mama's.

This-a-way,
That-a-way.
This way,
And that.

The duck spots
A bit of food
Placed in a tin
In the corner of the yard.

This-a-way,
That-a-way.
This way,
And that.

The duck eats,
Her ducklings eat
Until they leave
The tin quite empty.

What is this ducklings?
What is this?
Are all your tummies
Quite full?

The duck sways
Her duck bottom.
Her ducklings all follow
In a row behind.

This-a-way,
That-a-way.
This way,
And that.

Juliana is equally adept in Dutch. The following poems were printed by the *Amigoe di Korsou* and were created to commemorate the events of one Elian Gonzalez after he and his mother fled Cuba. Elian was found drifting in the ocean on a rubber inner tube.

Ze schoot een vuurpijl
uit haar bebloede ogen
voor haar zoon Elian.
Voordat zij losliet
fluisterde ze in zijn oor:
Komt wel goed, Elian!

She shot a flare
from bloodshot eyes
for her son Elian.
Before she let go
She whispered in his ear:
It is going to be fine, Elian!

Noodkreet

Leer mij ook
kleine Elian
de angst te overwinnen
en net as jij
zo rustig
zo eenzaam

zelfs de dood
te beschamen.

Cry for Help

Teach me also
little Elian
to overcome fear
and just like you
so calmly
so alone
to thwart even
death.

While the collection of haiku by Elis Juliana, *Un mushi di Haiku*, is not the focus of this dissertation, a few of the haikus in it should be shared here. The first to be looked at reads as follows:

Un mama pará
ku su yu kargá na seit
kantu di lamá.

A mother stands with
Her child carried on her hip
close by the seashore.

This haiku, although quite banal in its translated form, has a haunting quality in Papiamentu. With the Caribbean Sea surrounding the islands, many a fisherman supplements his diet with fresh seafood. Imagine if you will a wife standing forlornly with her child carried on her hip, as she looks out over the sea not knowing if her husband, who has gone out fishing, will return safely.

Un machi sintá
ku su parasòl kibrá
ta bende suerte.

A woman seated
'neath a broken parasol.
Seller of good luck.

Juliana paints with a few words a vivid image of a poor soul sitting underneath a broken parasol in the hopes of being at least somewhat protected from the hot, tropical sun. Clearly someone whom Lady Luck has passed by, this woman tries to make some money selling lottery tickets, or *biyechi*, or good luck.

Stories narrate the history of a people's origin and traditions, their values and customs, in other words, their very identity. Whether as a corrective for drunken behaviour, a coping mechanism, a subversion of stereotypes, or a way of life, humor represents the continuation of a specific culture and its tradition of storytelling or advise in an effort to share, to teach, and to entertain.

Alkohóliko
ta sunchi asta stupi
shushi di un shap.

The alcoholic
will kiss even the dirty
steps of an outlet.

Ku mashá duele
e buraché a benta
e bòter afó.

With much sadness the
drunkard grudgingly discards
the empty bottle.

Everyone is familiar with the comic yet deeply disturbing behaviour of a drunk. Juliana presents a view of an individual completely in the grip of the disease of alcoholism. Down on his luck and in need of a drink, the alcoholic stumbles onto the steps of a liquor outlet and in relief, ends up kissing the dirty steps. The use of humor as a technique rests mostly in the ability to deflate seriousness in situations and events so as to create a coping mechanism. Humor acts not only as a measure of comic relief but also as a vital part of daily life.

Dos strea ta frei
ku kinipí di wowo.
Noche tropikal.

Two stars are flirting,
winking eyes at each other.
A tropical night!

Juliana describes the dark, velvety tropical sky with its blinking and twinkling stars as two lovers, intend on seeing the reciprocal spark in each other's eyes.

Old superstitions are alluded to in the two following haiku. Earlier I mentioned the superstition that those who died without having ingested salt in the new world, would be able to fly home to Africa. Even after burial, the salt from tears might delay the flight back to Africa. Perhaps Juliana is referring to this element with:

Fabor no basha
awa di wowo riba mi.
Lagami seku!

Please do not squander
your salty tears upon me.
Let me remain dry!

Irony or dark humor is noted in the following haiku:

Pa chansa dos bieu
ta felisitá otro
hopi aña mas.

Two elders in jest
congratulate each other:
"Many more to come!"

And while Juliana wrote his haiku in Papiamentu, he is able to do so in English as well. He made up the following haiku on the spot in English during one of our conversations:

Each year anew
Tiger vows to become a
vegetarian.

Another subject of Juliana's poetry is religion. Below is Juliana's adaptation of the well-known *Hail Mary* in an effort to take up the cause of women in the Caribbean (Ansano et al, 3):

Muhé

Muhé mi ta kuminda bo
Bo lucha ta hustifiká.
Fo'i den temp'i kouchi boulo
bo eksistensia ta deskriminá.

Ken a pari Atlas ku ta karga
mundu ku no por drei sin bo?
...Tata, yu, spiritu santu...
Mama semper a keda afó.

Woman

Hail woman, I greet you,
Your struggle is justified.
From the onset of time
Your existence has been discriminated.

Who bore Atlas who carries
the world, which would not function without you?
...Father, Son, Holy Ghost...
Mother is always left out.

Juliana's poetry and prose are rich with the folklore and rhythm of the language. His writing is extremely valuable as he treats Papiamentu with much appreciation, displaying that it has the advantage of existing in and portraying Antillean reality and serving extremely well in the daily usage of its speakers.

African traditions such as the Ananzi stories and the use of proverbs have been grafted onto a slave culture in the Caribbean setting. It must be remembered that the slaves themselves did not form a homogenous group. The slaves imported to the Caribbean hailed from various ethnic communities and geographical locations. From the beginning slaves were forced to exchange ideas and customs among themselves in order to be able to confront the myriad of problems and confusion which arose within their new environment. It was a case of blending of customs they brought with them to those new elements encountered. One of the customs brought by the first slaves were the Ananzi

(Anancy or Nanzi) stories. However, it is difficult to find out which natural changes the Ananzi spider/human stories have undergone in the course of time, because the oldest recorded stories at our disposal show obvious traces of conscious adaptation by the compilers of the stories. The following story comes from Baart's *Cuentanan di Nanzi* (1991) and is presented to show how African folklore was adopted into and adapted to the Caribbean setting. The name of Ananzi has been attributed to a spider who was very wily and able to extricate himself from any situation often outwitting other animals. Through the ages and in various cultures, Ananzi became a human being. It is not understood how this change occurred or if it indeed occurs in all versions of Ananzi stories. What is important to note is that whatever biological species Ananzi belonged to he was very clever. *Shon Arey* is the name of the king in most Ananzi stories. He is very gullible to the point of being downright dumb, so that it is easy for Ananzi, the trickster to best *Shon Arey*. It may be that the name *Shon Arey* came from Spanish - Señor, el Rey - meaning "the King."

Compa Nanzi i e Baca Pinta

Shon Arey tabatin un tereno grandi, cu tabata yen di bringamosa. Nada e no por hasi ku e tera ey, p'esey el a bai buska hende, cu quier rosa e lugar. Esun, ku por rosa e tera, sin grawata su kurpa, lo hanja un baca grandi i gordo. Ma esun ku grawata, lo mester caba su bida na palu di horca. Ningun hende no quier a bai purba. Tur tin gana di hanja e baca, ma ora nan corda sol, cu casi sigur Shon Arey lo larga horca nan, nan ta larga e cos ey para.

Nanzi tambe a pensa e cos ey mashá bon. Te un día e no por a wanta mas. El a conta Shi María, ku awe lo e bai purba su suerte. Shi Marí a yora: "Nanzi, nunka mas lo mi weitabo. Ta kon bo por ta golos asina? Larga e baca queda na su lugar." Nanzi tabata mashá terco, i el a bai toch. Yegando palacio Shon Arey a larga'e bini cerca dje. E quier a mira e hende, cu a bin' tuma su morto. Shon Arey a hari chiquí-chiquí ora el a mira Nanzi. Sinembargo e di kun'e: "Ta gana di muri bo tin? Ni bieuw bo

no ta."

"No, Shon Arey, mi no tin gana di muri, no lo mi no muri tampoko. E baca sí lo mi gana. Mi tin un fabor sí di pidi Shon Arey. Promer, ku mi rosa e tera, lo mi quier scohe e baca. Mi ta spera, ku Shon Arey lo no tin nada contra." - "Wel, no Nanzi. Siguimi."

Nanzi a cana bon mucha tras di Shon Arey, té ora nan a queda pará dilanti di hopi baca bunita i gordo. "Shon Arey, lo mi por a hanja esun bunita aqui?" Nanzi a mustra un baca gordísimo i tur pintá. "Sigur no, Nanzi. Ta bon. Mira pa bo gana e baca, tende! Ayo."

Un coprá a bin busca Nanzi p'e rosa e tera. Nanzi a cuminsa traha, ma e bringamosanan a dun'e mashá gana di grawata su curpa. El a hiza su cara p'e wak e coprá. Esaqui tabata wak e bon. Poco mas aleuw el a mira su baca. "Coprá, coprá, bo sa ta cua baka ta pa mi? Ta esun ku tin un mancha aqui, un mancha aya, un mancha p'aqui, un mancha p'ey." Tur es tem', Nanzi tabata grawata e lugarnan, cu e ta mustra na su smak. Cada bez, cu e ta sinti ku e mester grawatá, e ta mustra e coprá, na unda e baca ta pintá. Den menos ku mei ora, el a bini clá cu su tera. Coprá i soldá mester a declara cu Nanzi no a grawata su curpa ni un ora sol. Nan no a comprondé, ku ta grawata Nanzi tabata grawata, ora e ta papia cu nan. Asina Nanzi a gana su baca grandi i gordo. Cantando na boz haltu el a bolbe cas. Shi María i tur e yiunan a core bin' contr'é. Nan a braz'é, sunch'é cu mashá gracia. Nan a quere sigur, ku nunca mas lo nan a mir'é. P'esey nan a grita: "Biba Papa Nanzi."

Bre'r Anazi and the Spotted Cow

His majesty had a big piece of land, which was overgrown with poison ivy. For all his effort, nothing could rid his land of the poison ivy. That is why he sought someone who could clear the land. He who could clear the land without scratching himself, would receive a large, fatted cow. However he who scratched himself would be hanged.

No one wanted to attempt the task. All wanted of course to receive a cow, but when they recalled that his majesty would surely hang them, they let go of the idea. Nanzi also contemplated the offer. One day, he could not bear it any more. He told his wife Maria, that this was the day he was going to try his luck. Maria cried: "Nanzi, I will never see you again. How can you be so greedy? Just let go of this idea". Nanzi was very stubborn and he went anyway. When he arrived at the palace, his majesty called him to appear before him. The King wanted to see what kind of

person this was, who was willing to face death. His majesty laughed slyly when he saw Nanzi. He said to him: "Do you want to die? And you who are not even very old." "No, your majesty. I don't want to die and neither will I. I will indeed win the cow. I have a favor to ask of you. Before I clear the terrain, I want to choose which cow I want. I hope that your majesty has nothing against this". "Well no, Nanzi. Follow me". Nanzi walked for some time behind the King, until finally they stood before a group of beautiful and healthy specimen. "Your majesty, may I pick that beautiful cow over there?" Nanzi pointed to a very fat and colorful cow. "Sure Nanzi. It is good. See to it that you win the cow, you hear? Good bye".

A corporal came to collect Nanzi so that he could clear the land. Nanzi began to work, but the poison ivy made him very itchy. He looked at the corporal, who was watching him closely. Behind the corporal, Nanzi spotted his cow. "Corporal, corporal, do you know which cow is mine? That one over there that has a spot here, a spot there, here a spot, there a spot". All the while he talked, Nanzi would scratch those same places on his own body. Every time he felt that he needed to scratch, he would once again show the corporal the places where the cow had a spot. Within half an hour he finished clearing the land. The corporal and his soldiers had to declare that Nanzi had not scratched himself even once. They did not understand that Nanzi was actually scratching while he had been talking to them. In this way Nanzi won his big, fat cow. Singing in a loud voice he returned home. Mary, his wife and all their children ran to meet him. They hugged and kissed him thankfully. They had feared never to see him again. That is why they all shouted: "Long live Father Nanzi!"

After the abolishment of slavery in 1863, the ex-slaves entered a lean period during which time it was often difficult for them to earn a living. Up until this time only slave owners, government officials, traders and crafts people had earned money. After emancipation many ex-slaves and people without trades went to Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Caracas, and Panama to earn a living. Around 1920, with the decision of the Dutch Shell Company to construct a refinery in Curaçao, near the natural harbour of Schottegat, there arose as it were, a challenge to the influence which the Roman Catholic Church had exercised over its Afro-Antillean parishioners. Verweel and Marcha (1999)

write that the beginning of the petroleum industry transformed the Curaçaoan economic community from an agrarian mercantile society to a twentieth-century industrialized capitalist society. Quickly the refinery became the central economic point of Curaçao and attracted thousands of literate workers from neighboring Caribbean islands. Many of the same people who had gone away from Curaçao to earn a living returned to work in the refinery. The powerful petroleum company offered steady work and of course a steady income. Now the Curaçaoan was freed from having to live for twenty four hours under the proscribed rules of the Church (Broek 1998: 58). Curaçao's economy bloomed, especially during World War II. While the initial reaction to the Shell refinery was one of joy, few suspected that this industry would cause a complete change in the economic, social and cultural structures, which up to this time had been largely feudal.

The Afro-Curaçaoan population, mostly Roman Catholic believers, were now exposed to Western, primarily non-religious or anti-Roman Catholic lifestyles and moral standards. This new exposure was a major concern of the Roman Catholic clergy and inspired some authors to create writings to this effect. The new liberal ideas that came hand in hand with the arrival of the oil company loosened the relatively firm grip of the Church on the Afro-Antillean people. They in turn no longer relied on the Church to satisfy their material needs, and also no longer looked to the Church to publish their writings.

Through the avenues of dance, language, and song sentiments such as love, religion, and rebellion are expressed. In the case of the *tambú*, a dance with origins in Africa, it is obvious that the foreign religion imposed on the Afro-Curaçaoan people, could not obliterate this way of expression. In *Pa saka kara* (1998), Elis Juliana explains the origin of the *tambú* dance in Curaçao in an attempt to show how the initial celebration

of this dance changed through the years. He comments that the first slaves used to meet in a secret location in the wee hours of the night in order to alleviate their mental and physical pain with their dance and with a sorrowful song. He writes:

> E sitio di kombitu general tabata planeá na un bon distansha di e abitashon (landhuis) di e doño i pafó di plantashi. E tamburero, o sea tokadó di tambú, tabata toka e tambú den un estilo mashá dominá, tambú frená o será, di moda ku e sonido lo no karga bai leu for di e sitio komo si deskubrí nan, nan kastigu lo tabata mashá severo. Ku bos abou, pisá i kargá di temor i amargura, e kantadó ta kuminsá murmurá un melodia lamentoso, por ehèmpel, referiendo na nan posishon komo katibu, konsiderá i tratá komo animal i Shon tabata bendenan meskos ku ta hende galiña (In Broek 1998: 38).

✺

> The meeting place generally was planned to be at a good distance away from the house of the landowner, and outside the plantation. The drummer or he who played the *tambú*, would play it in a very subdued manner, so that the sound would not carry far from the meeting place, because if they were discovered, their punishment would be very severe. In a soft voice, heavy and laden with emotion and bitterness, the singer begins to murmur a sorrowful tune, for instance, referring to their situation as slaves, regarded and treated as animals, and how the owner would sell them in the same way as he sold chickens.

One of the *tambú* songs that reflected this complaint was:

> Katibu ta galiña, mama
> Katibu ta galiña.
> Shon ta bende nos, mama
> Katibu ta galiña.

✺

> Slaves are like chickens, mama
> Slaves are like chickens.
> The owner sells us, mama
> Slaves are like chickens.

It seemed that the gathered slaves would dance, or at least move in rhythm to the sorrowful lament of the "caller". The dance consisted mostly of a shaking, or shuddering of the whole body without any movement of the waist. The *tambú* dance is explained as follows by Juliana:

> E bailadó ta para stret riba su kurpa, kara dilanti, su brasanan slap kologá na su kurpa. Hisando su hilchi di pia drechi e ta lanta su pia robes kompleto for di suela, pues e ta lanta henter su kurpa i keda na haltu riba su tenchi di pia drechi. Luego e ta laga su peso di kurpa baha riba su pia robes ku un kaída plat, sin dobla e rudia, ke men e rudia robes no ta dobla pa fangu o wanta e kaída. Ku e kaída ei e bailadó ta sinti un sagudí o shok pasa den henter su kurpa. Ta manera e ta haña un baño frio for di su kabes té pia o sea un koriente for di den su sesunan ta baha pasa den henter su kurpa bin sali bou di su pia robes plat riba suela. Bo por eksperensiá un shok asina ora, por ehèmpel bahando un stupi, bo dal un stap mal kalkulá i bo kai pará stret riba hilchi. Ku e kaída ei bo por deskontrolá pa un momento i bo wowonan ta bira skur i basta ratu despues bo por keda ta sinti un doló di kabes.
> Pues ripitiendo e kaída o sea e pas di baile di tambú tras di otro e katibu ta hinka su mes den un medio-trans komo ku kada paso di kaída e ta kontinuá e koriente ku ta pasa di su serebro pa su pia. Den tal estado e ta pèrde kontakto ku realidat or sea e koriente ku ta pasa den su kurpa pa sali bou di su planta di pia robes, sali tambe ku tur su noshon di doló i amargura. Pues, baliando tambú e por laba su pena, su desesperashon. Un señor hulandes ku a yega di demostrá interes den folklore di Kòrsou a pensá ku kisas e baile di kokochá akí lo por a originá ku kortamentu di e múskulo di hilchi di e katibunan ku a hui. Despues ku a kapturánan a mankanan di tal forma pa nan no bolbe hui pero asina leu investigá nunka tal kos no a sosodé akí na Kòrsou (In Broek 1998:38-9).

The dancer stands up straight, face forward, the arms hanging loosely alongside the body. Lifting up the heel of the right foot, he lifts up his whole body and stands on tippy toes of the right foot. Then he lets the weight of his body down upon his left foot with a dull thud, flat, without bending the knees, that is to say, the left knee does not bend to break or to shift the weight of the fall. With this downfall, the dancer feels a shaking or a shock pass through his whole body. It is as if one receives a cold

> shower from head to toes, or as if a current is going through his whole nervous system, exiting under his left foot that is flat against the ground. You can experience such a shock, when for instance, you go down a step, and you miscalculate the step and come to land rather unexpectedly flat on your heels. With such a downfall, one could become confused for a moment, even causing your eyes to blur for a while and for some time after, you may be left with a tremendous headache.
>
> Thus, executing this footfall or else the *tambú* dance step repeatedly would cause the slave to enter a semi trance state as with each dance step he would cause the continuation of the current to pass from his brain down to his left foot. In this way he would lose contact with reality or in other words, the same way in which the current would run through the body to exit through the sole of the left foot, all notions of pain and anger would leave the same way. So, while dancing the *tambú*, he could wash away his pain, his desperation. One Dutchman who showed an interest in Curaçaoan folklore came to believe that perhaps this unsteady hobbling could have originated with the cutting of the Achilles heel tendon of the slaves who tried to flee. After catching them, they maimed them in this way to discourage further attempts to flee, but this has never been proved to have happened in Curaçao.

After emancipation, in 1863, the *tambú* dance, although still banned by law, was celebrated more openly. It was still very dangerous to do so because especially the Dutch Catholic Fathers used to fight very strenuously to remove this so called diabolic activity. Juliana comments:

> Sintá riba kabai nan tabata kore drenta den group di hende ku tabata pasa nan pleizi den kurá di nan kas, sutanan ku karbachi i konfiská e tambú (In Broek 1998: 39).

> Seated on a horse, they would enter the group of people who were gathered for pleasure in the yards of their homes, would flog them with a whip and would confiscate the drum.

Yet despite all the laws and obstacles thrown in the way of celebrating the *tambú* dance, it was still being organized, however now mostly in private homes. Invitations were

spread by word of mouth. Juliana comments that the character of the *tambú* changed. It was no longer a dance of despair. The movements of the feet became less spastic and now the movements involved the waist and the hips. Juliana writes:

> E bailadó tabata dobla su rudianan algu pa fangu e kaída di peso di su kurpa, hasiendo moveshonnan sensual ku su mitar abou di kurpa, su hepnan wayando ku su atras den ritmo stakato. E brasanan no tabata kologá slap mas, pero sea medio na laria (forma di entraga total) i e mannan wantando e sintura pa reforsá e zoyanan sensual. Pues e tambú di lamento a bin haña nominashon di tambú di sanka (39).

> The dancer would bend his knees somewhat so as to catch the weight of the body, making sensual movements with the lower part of his body, his hips and his buttocks swaying in a staccato rhythm. The arms no longer dangled loosely, but were lifted half-way up in the air (a sign of total surrender) and the hands holding the waist, to emphasize the sensual swaying. So the tragic *tambú* became known as the *tambú* of the buttocks (39).

The title of Rene Rosalia's book, *Represhon di Kultura: E lucha di tambú* [The Repression of Culture: The fight of the *tambú*] t[illegible]ifies to the resistance factor that is embedded in many Caribbean texts and is in fact very much preoccupied with rejecting Western concepts of literature. Rosalia dedicates this book to the memory of Tula, the folk hero who started an uprising with the aim of liberation. Although Tula was executed on October, 3, 1795, Rosalia contends that the fight for liberation continues to this day. Rosalia explains that the *tambú* was a cultural element that could never be part of the Catholic belief system. This seems to have been the main reason why Catholicism rejected any connection with *tambú*. Furthermore, colonial powers also considered this particular cultural expression a threat to public order, contending that it would incite disorderly conduct and perhaps even incite uprisings. Neither Protestantism nor Judaism

was as vehemently opposed to the *tambú*, since neither tried to enforce their religion on the African descendants. Governmental and ecclesiastical tactics of repression seemed to work hand in hand in outlawing expression of *tambú*, albeit each for their own reasons. Music has been one of the greatest forces for shaping cultural identity in the Caribbean and is perhaps why the *tambú* was so vigorously persecuted by those in power.

Writing about the *tambú*, Rutgers explains that this word may have come from the Dutch word *tamboer* [drum] and writes that the *tambú* festivals were described as deafening, intolerable, and brazen. The *shons* [masters] complained apparently that in the middle of the night, an immoral African dance, called the *tambú* was being celebrated in a frenzied manner and accompanied from time to time, with sounds resembling the barking of dogs. The opinion about the *tambú* differed even among the Church leaders. While Father Euwens opined that the *tambú* was "een uiting van dierlijke zinnelijkheid" [an expression of animal sexuality], Father Brenneker wrote, "Tamboerliedjes zijn juwelen. Onvervalst papiaments, niet gebonden aan grammatica en bovenal springlevend." [*Tambú* songs are jewels. Unadulterated Papiamentu, not restricted by grammar and above all, very much alive] (In Rutgers 1996: 26). In the introduction to his book *Represhon di Kultura*, Rene Rosalia writes:

> Tambú ta un ekspreshon típiko di yu di Kòrsou di e género afro-kurasoleño ku ta rekòrdá nos di nos pasado do sklabitut. Pa medio di enseñansa, élite sivil i eklesiástiko a krea serka nos, for di siglo djesnuebe, un sintimentu di bèrgwensa i di menospresio pa nos propio kultura. Bon mirá nan a hasi esaki tur tempu; promé ku katibu i despues ku desendiente di esakinan. E asina yamá sivilisadó kolonial a krea miedu, menospresio i disgustu den nos pa nos mes, di moda ku nos no ke ni pensa riba nos mes i nos propio kultura. Awor nos tin problema serio di identitat (9).

> *Tambú* is a typical expression of the genre Afro-Curaçaoan of the native Curaçaoan which reminds us of our slave past. Since the 1900s by means of education, civil as well as religious authorities have created in us a sentiment of shame and of low prestige for our own culture. Properly seen they did this all the time; at first with the slave and later with their offspring. The so-called civilized colonials created fear, low self-esteem and disgust in us toward ourselves, with result that we do not even want to dwell on ourselves, nor on our own culture. Now there is a serious problem with identity.

Rosalia further states that his book is an act of resistance against Dutch colonialism and that moreover it is a concrete result of the ongoing battle for rediscovery with an aim to love yourself and your heritage. Mostly his book is an effort to bring to the foreground the *tambú*, which was a forbidden celebration. The book is a revelation of Afro-Curaçaoan expression that colonial powers stymied and stigmatized. The *tambú*, according to Rosalia, was one of the ways in which people celebrated their belief, their spiritual life. Rosalia chronicles the repression of the *tambú* by the Catholic Church and records the prescribed prohibitions of the clergy. The colonial authorities set up laws, ordinances, and regulations in order to curtail celebrations of the *tambú*. Armed police enforced observance of legislation and punished offenders. To avoid all this repression the *tambú* began to be celebrated in various clandestine ways, such as the oral *tambú*, the closed door *tambú* and the invitational *tambú*.

Rosalia explains that the word *tambú* stands for a percussion instrument, a drum, but also stands for the actual feast or celebration. *Tambú* thus includes the musical instrument, the feast itself, music, song and the dance. Rosalia notes that the *tambú* is a musical genre that has a fixed basic 12/8 tempo (26). Usually the *tambú* follows the call and response pattern. It was originally a protest song about the inequality between *shon* [master] and ex-slave. One of the songs featured in Rosalia's book describes the "*paga*

tera" system. After emancipation, ex-slaves were allowed to continue living on the estate in the existing hamlets and were given by the plantation owner a small plot of land for their own use. However they were still required to perform work for the plantation owner. In fact this "*paga tera*" agreement actually made the ex-slaves, though free and independent by law, once again bound to the estates whose owners allowed them to use the land for agricultural purposes under feudal conditions (Römer, 1981).

In the past the callers or singers of the *tambú* had been mostly women. The result of the clamp down by local authorities at *tambú* celebrations was that the central role of women in *tambú* celebrations has nearly completely disappeared. Following the revolt of May 30, 1969, the *tambú* celebrations were revived. Guillermo Rosario refers to this happening in *Mi Nigrita Papiamentu* [My darling Papiamentu] when he writes:

> You are like
> the *tambú*
> which at one time
> out of shame,
> they did not want us
> to play
> in the cities,
> but
> which, in order to enjoy it,
> we had
> to flee with it
> into the country side.
>
> But Now
>
> We advertise
> our *tambú* songs...

The *seú* was originally a dance to celebrate the harvest. With the disappearance of agricultural crops, this cultural expression is, along with the *tambú*, taking on a

recreational character. Now many hotels feature the *tambú*, the *seú*, and other dances that retain but a pale likeness to the original dance. The danger is that this sterile imitation may create a pseudo cultural identity (Römer, 1993).

Ornelio Martina's publication, *Ban, Ban Pasa Un Rondu* (1954), contains several short stories among which is the story entitled *E promé sunchi* [The First Kiss].

E promé sunchi

Durante henter aña nos ta stima, algun tempu ku mes pashon, otro tempu mas kalmu, pero semper den tempu di Pasku ta parse manera e amor den nos pechu ta krese, surpasando su mes limite. Por ta, ku ta e musik di Pasku ku ta sali for di tur radio di tur kas, predikando pas i amor selestial, por ta ku e drechamentu di nos kas, hasiendo esaki limpi i bunita, por ta ku ta e preparashon di nos bistimentu pa Pasku ku mester ta esun di mas elegante di henter aña, por ta ku ta e preparashon di nos alma, e kibramentu ku piká pa riba e dia di Pasku nos risibi i kuminsá un bida mihó, por ta ku ta tur esaki huntu ta trese nos mas aserka di esnan ku nos ta stima.

Tabata den e tempu ski durante misanan di aurora ku Bòi i Laura, tur dos bou di nan binti aña lokamente enamorá di otro, tabata topa tur mardugá despues di misa. Nan tabata bai keiru i kòmbersá tur mainta den e ora di mas bunita di un dia, e oraku e promé rayonan di solo ta sunchi tera, bebiendo e serena riba blachi i daknan di kas pa kore ku e skuridat i friu di anochi.

Nan tabata keiru i kòmbersá, pero semper tabata na grupo, semper tabatin mas mucha muhé i mucha hòmber aserka i tur dos, sigur di otro su amor, tabata deseá pa e momento yega ku nan lepnan por a topa pa promé biaha. Pero niun chèns n'ker a presentá, semper na tur kaminda ku nan a topa, tabatin mas hende i ta un sonrisa, un wowo di kariño o un frase ku despues ta keda karisia un memoria te ora soño hibé, tabatanan maneranan di komuniká otro nan amor. Pero nan a traha un plan i esaki lo a tuma lugá riba e último dia di misa di aurora, essta Bispu di Pasku. Laura tabata biba na un kas ariba i nan a palabrá, ku Bòi lo warda den skur dilanti di su kas; asina Laura habri porta pa e sali bai misa, si no tin niun hende den kaya, Bòi ta drenta i nan lo por sunchi otro pa di promé biaha den e trapi ei bou.

Bòi naturalmente apenas a drumi di anhelo pa e momento tan deseá i kasi mei ora promé ku ora di misa ya e tabata pará den skur, fregando nervioso so man i su brasanan pa kita frieldat. Tur kos lo bai

bon? Kiko Laura lo tabata hasiendo awor aki? Lus tabata sendé...Esnan ku a yega di deseá un promé sunchi ku e ansiedat di un loko por komprondé kiko Bòi tabata pasando.

Unu, unu hendenan a kuminsá pasa pa bai misa. A pasa un mucha hòmber ku yama Elsio ku su tas bou di su brasa, manera hende ku tabata bai subi warda i Bòi, ku konosé a baha su kara, primi su kurpa mas den muraya pa e no ser mirá.

Por último e porta a habri, pero Laura no a sali, el a hasi manera hende ku a bùk kohe un kos ku a kai su tras. Bòi n'pèrdè pa gana, el a drenta den e trapi, sera e porta su tras i braso su mucha muhè pa bai sunch'é. Den esei gritamentu, dalmentu, Bòi a sali na kareda ku un wowo ku tabata hasi mashá doló kaminda un buki di masa pisá a dal e i su tras el a tende e mama di Laura grita: "Ousilio, ousilio, abuso, polis, shouru ònbeskòp ta wak hende muhé sin defensa pa na abusá di nan, ousilio..."

The First Kiss

During the whole year we love, sometimes with more ardour, at other times less passionately, but always during the Christmas season, it seemed that the love within us grew, surpassing its own limits. It could be that it was the Christmas music which could be heard on every radio in every house, preaching about Peace and Good Will, or it could be decorating our homes, cleaning it and making it nice, it could be the preparation of the Christmas clothes that had to be the most elegant ones of the whole year, it could be our soul searches, the repenting of sin, so that on Christmas Day we could receive and begin a new life, it could be all of these things that bring us closer to the ones we love.

It was during this time, during the early morning Masses, that Bòi and Laura, both under the age of twenty, head over heels in love, used to meet every dawn after the early service. They used to walk together and talk every dawn during the most beautiful part of the day, at the hour when the first rays of the sun would kiss the earth, drinking up the night dew from the leaves and the rooftops, causing the darkness and the chilliness of the night to flee.

They used to walk and talk, but always in a group. There always were many girls and boys nearby, and these two, sure of their love for each other, yearned for the moment in which their lips could meet in their fist kiss. However, there never was an opportune moment, because everywhere they met, there were scores of people around and they had to

be content showing their love for each other, with a smile, a loving look or a phrase, daydreaming until sleep would carry them away.

They did make a plan which would take place on the last day of the early morning Masses, on Christmas Eve. Laura lived in a walkup apartment and they decided that Bòi would wait in the darkness in front of her house; when she opened the door to leave the house to go to Mass, if no one was in the street, Bòi would come over and they could kiss each other for the first time at the bottom of the stairs.

Bòi hardly slept due to his yearning for this much desired event and he stood outside Laura's house nearly half an hour before the service, rubbing his hands and arms nervously to take away the chill. Will all go well? What would Laura be doing right about now? The light went on...Those of us who have longed hungrily for a first kiss may well understand what Bòi was going through.

One by one people began to go by on their way to Mass. A young man called Elsio with his briefcase in hand, like someone about to start his shift went by and Bòi who knew him, lowered his face and hugged the wall closer, so he would not be seen.

Finally the door opened, but Laura did not emerge and bent down as if to pick up something that had fallen behind her. Bòi could not wait any longer, he went up the stairs, closed the door behind him and embraced his young girl as if to kiss her. All of a sudden there was screaming and hitting and Bòi ran out in a hurry with one eye that hurt like mad where a heavy missal had hit him and behind him he could hear Laura's mother screaming: "Help! Help, abuse, police. Impudent scoundrel who preys on defenseless women to hurt them. Help...!"

This chapter will conclude with a children's poem written by Enrique Muller (1991). During my visit in 2001, sitting on his front porch, Muller recounted the occasion which caused him to write the following poem, and pointed to the actual location of the flower pot where the *totolika* [a common ground dove] had built its nest. In the title of the poem *Shon Totolika*, *shon* is a title of respect and though mostly used to address a male, is also used for females. Thus *Drenta por fabor shon* [Please come in, Madam/Sir] may be said to both a male and a female.

Shon totolika

Un totolika di mondi
maske kon pikiña e ta,
a para bira
doño di nos kas.

El a bin traha nèshi
den un pòchi di mata
parà riba muraya
di nos pòrch dilanti.

Niun hende no por grita,
niun porta no por dal
sino Shon Totolika
ta kapas di spanta.

Si un bishita bini
e mester pasa ketu ketu
bai sinta den beranda
patras di kas.

Porlopronto den nos pòrch
lus lo ta pagà anochi
pa Shon Totolika drumi
manera ta den mondi e ta.

Den kas ta reina semper
un silensio profundo;
Shon Totolika ta brui,
lag'é na pas.

Shon Totolika

A country totolika
despite its small size
one day became
the boss of our house.

It came to build its nest
in a flower pot
that sat on top of a wall
of our front porch.

No one was allowed to shout,
no one could slam the door,
or else Shon Totolika
would be scared away.

If company came to call,
they would have to walk very softy
to go sit on the veranda
at the back of the house.

For the time being, on our front porch,
the light had to be off at night,
so that Shon Totolika could sleep
as if it were in the country side.

Our house is continually cloaked
in a deep silence.
Shon Totolika sits hatching.
Leave it in peace.

Chapter 5: A Papiamentu Translation Workshop III - Women Writers

Françoise Lionnet in *Postcolonial Representations* (1995) presents a comparative critique of works by female authors with an aim to facilitate an enlightened and productive view on the personal and cultural expressions written into these works. Lionnet concentrates on female writings out of an ideology that it is important to view certain beliefs, cultural practices, and values both as global processes and as local social constructions of "femaleness." In so doing, she offers the reader a view of solidarity on women's issues noting, however, that there still remain Western versus "other" ethnic and moral dimension. She does point out that though bound loosely together by the bond of "feminine" literature, each literary production by female authors retains its individuality and must in no way be assumed to represent universal or stereotypical conclusions, and so holds to identity even within diversity. Lionnet endeavors to enrich the reader with various samplings of women's writings that in themselves serve as new perspectives on cultural practices that have remained mostly hidden to Western thought. While the voices of the authors resound as individual tones, it appears that Lionnet wants to blend them together to produce a tapestry of a harmonious paradigm of women's perspectives globally and not restricted to the Caribbean. She includes in her book work by authors who write across frontiers of memories, personal experiences and shared cultural, ethic and postcolonial viewpoints - memories of triumphs of lessons learned as well as memories of pain and suffering endured. These stories offer the reader a view into knowledge, understanding and enlightenment of past ignorance, scorn, violence, resistance, slavery, racial and gender inequalities as they relate to historical, social and cultural contexts and unresolved conflicts. Larrier (2000) writes that portraits of African

and Caribbean people in European literature were shaped by myths and stereotypes that served the colonial enterprise. She opines that it becomes the task of the writer to deconstruct these powerful negative caricatures for only in writing their own stories can these female authors denounce the inequality, oppression and exploitation experienced, perhaps not personally, but collectively.

Caribbean women were customarily faced with discrimination since they had no meaningful and recognized literary voice and, as such had more difficulty in declaring and constructing an identity. Caught within the standard languages of French, Dutch, English, and Spanish, and caught as well within their cultural African/Caribbean heritage, women writers began their search for identity by writing novels and poems in which they argue not for the existence of one fixed identity but for one that is adaptive and responsive to a variety of conditions. With a move toward open and advanced resistance, literary production increased in the Caribbean and in the twentieth century it became well defined. The voice of women, which was once silent, began especially to be heard. Observing that the voice of the Caribbean culture cannot come only from the male perspective, Caribbean women began to look into ways to contribute and to transmit culture from their own perspective. The gradual emergence of a discourse by and about women focused on the struggle for their rights while activists among them waged verbal assaults on political institutions. In their quest to be heard, some women transgressed so called restrictions of prescribed femininity. However, as these works by Caribbean women writers show, having been long suppressed, these women writers retaliate with eloquent and creative strategies.

Curaçaoan Papiamentu activist Joceline Clemencia argues that women have always fulfilled an important role in life in the Caribbean. Clemencia writes:

> Lo no tabatin lider maskulino si muhénan no a para dilanti di klas, siñanan lesa, skirbi, te ku nan por a bira lider. Lo no tin niun tipo di nada si muhénan no duna bida. For di e perspektiva aki mirá, muhé semper a, ta i lo hunga un papel vital den komunidat...Mitar di poblashon mundial ta hende muhé...mientras ta un 100 parti di prosperidat i propiedat mundial so ta den nan man (Clemencia 1999: 20).

> There would not have been male leaders had women not stood before the class, teaching reading and writing, until they could become leaders. There would not have been anything at all if women had not given birth. Seen from this perspective, women always have and will continue to play a vital role in the community...Half of the world's population are women...while they only share 100th part of the world's wealth and property.

While she acknowledges the important function of women in general as well as in the Caribbean community, she asks the following questions that further show that women have not really attained the same level of recognition as man in the world.

> Kuantu kompositor feminino di tayo di Mozart, Beethoven i Chopin bo konosé? Kuantu sientifiko feminino tamaño di Einstein bo konosé? Kuantu sekretario general di Nashonnan Uní muhé a la Kofi Anan bo konosé? Kuantu ganadó muhé di Premio Nòbel bo konosé (20).

> How many women composers of the fame of Mozart, Beethoven and Chopin do you know? How many female scientists of Einstein's fame do you know? How many women United Nations Secretary Generals like Kofi Anan do you know? How many women Nobel Peace Prize winners do you know?

In the same article Clemencia clarifies that when she speaks about women and politics, she does not limit herself to women within political parties, because political work does not only mean work in a particular political party. She defines political work as that work where people think critically and conscientiously about life, formulate an opinion on

them, and strive to bring change where it is needed. In particular she writes that women must become active politically, culturally, economically as well as in the areas of youth development, education and women's health care. Clemencia has taken on an explicitly international feminist theory as her point of reference. As a pioneer she broached the classic dilemma of many societies in the past in the Caribbean where it was taboo to comment out loud on slavery and colonial domination. Following the example of her mentor, Elis Juliana, who also would not be silent about the past Clemencia vowed to speak out whenever the circumstances warranted.

While Clemencia is a strong advocate for women, she is not shy about advocating on behalf of a man. In an essay called "De Tien Onthullende Terreinen van het Julianisme" [Ten Revealing Aspect of Julianism] (1991), Joceline Clemencia writes her response to the question: What has been the significance for Curaçao of the man who was at first ridiculed and later applauded? The man in question was Elis Juliana. The Humanities Faculty of the University of the Netherlands Antilles in conjunction with the Faculty of Law of the same University wanted to confer the honorary title of *Doctor Honoris Causa* on Elis Juliana. In her essay Joceline Clemencia wished to present arguments in favor of granting this honorary title to Juliana but in such a way so that there would never be a doubt in anyone's mind as to the historical justification and the validity of the decision. The essay begins with a personal view of Juliana and his work ethic. Clemencia highlights the many domains Juliana ventured in and concludes by describing the great benefit to Curaçaoan culture. With this she coins the term "Julianism." The essay explains the phenomenon "Julianism" has been remarkable both nationally as well as internationally. Reactions to his work and to the man himself have varied from derision, and surprise at the hard and crude reality he sometimes showed in

his writing, to intense rejection of the confrontational manner in which he exposed the truth, to feelings of admiration for his courage and attention to detail. Clemencia argues that every exposition on the work of Elis Juliana would be of no value if one did not begin with the most noteworthy work he has accomplished, that is, his long, arduous, and patient collection and classification of the oral folk tradition of his beloved island. Because of his meticulous research methods, Juliana made it possible for others to reconstruct the past. Not only was he able to document history through the tales told him by the elderly, but his collection provided and continues to do so today much in the way or recognition and verification of the oral tradition of Curaçao. The many hours spent as a youth observing nature and others around him, Clemencia writes, gave Juliana the needed patience to collect this material in a systematic way, to arrange them chronologically and to interpret these findings. Clemencia applauds Juliana's many talents and is of the opinion that no one else has been able to penetrate to the core the wealth of the oral tradition and to bring to the fore in this way, the very soul of the Curaçaoan. Clemencia writes a powerful essay that shows Juliana in his various roles as anthropologist, archeologist, philosopher, sculptor, musician, and painter.

Joceline Clemencia has many other works to her credit. Her works are intended to communicate to others that self-realization is also within their reach. With her writing Clemencia is a source of inspiration for other women looking for self-development, and to reconstruct female experience. Elaine Savory Fido writes about Caribbean women's writing in general:

> Each paper and book completed takes us closer not only to understanding our women authored literature, but encouraging it to grow...If we put together many single texts by different women writers, our patchwork quilt of their creative vision becomes a communal one, and we build a

> special kind of literary tradition different from the 'great individual writer' school which has tended to dominate literary traditions in the past (Savory Fido 1988: 337-8).

This remark fits Joceline Clemencia as well.

Omayra Leeflang's article with its translated title of "Men and Women - Equal yet different: a Biblical point of view" appears in *Mundu Yama Sinta Mira* (1992), a compilation of writing by women in Curaçao. Leeflang argues that the Bible does not discriminate against women, but in fact, acknowledges equality between the sexes. She draws three conclusions which are based on the first chapters of Genesis. First, man and woman were both created in the image of God. Secondly, God gave both the capacity and ability to live in the world and to see to its order. Thirdly, there is an obvious biological difference between men and women. This difference within equality Leeflang describes in her example of the Israeli woman judge Deborah, who is depicted in Judges 4 to 5 of the Old Testament. Leeflang concluder her article by exhorting the reader that interdependency within equality is something to strive for regardless of ethnicity, culture, heritage or geographical location. Below is just the first paragraph of Leeflang's article:

> Den e artíkulo aki lo mi refutá un krehensia robes tokante di *Beibel*. Hopi ta esnan ku ta tilda kristianismo i partikularmente beibel di ta diskriminá hende muhé. E krehensia aki a pone ku hopi hende a kohe beibel mand'é kashi di buki. Den e artíkulo aki mi ke proba ku beibel ta un di e promé bukinan, mas ku 2000 aña bieu, ku ta deklará igualdat di hòmber i muhé. Tambe mi ke mustra riba e importansia di rekonosementu di diferensha entre hòmber i muhé i e implikashonnan ku esaki tin. Mi ta konsiderá di sumo importansia ku un pueblo kaminda 94% ta deklará di ta kristian ta konsiente di loke beibel ta bisa tokante e tópiko aki (Ansano *et al* 1992: 5).

In this article I will refute a wrong belief about the Bible. There are many

> who accuse Christendom and particularly the Bible of discriminating against women. this belief causes many to put the Bible on the bookshelf. In this article I want to prove that the Bible is one of the first books, more than 2000 years old, that declares equality between men and women. Also, I want to point to the importance of recognizing the difference between men and women and the implication this [difference] holds. I count it of utmost importance that a people, 94% of whom declare themselves to be Christian, be aware of what the Bible says about this topic.

Caribbean women writers engage in a variety of colonial, cultural and political perspectives in their texts to convey a transatlantic dialogue, which is devoid of stereotypical representations of women. Re-appropriating the past silenced female voices, Caribbean women authors write to transmit knowledge and culture as they are a repository and conveyor of women's history, a history that was often marginalized, because of gender. In their written works, these women authors create a space in the fabric of culture where this culture and identity can breathe and live.

Many women authors write children's literature, assessing quite correctly that it is a component that belongs naturally to a mature literary system. Maria Diwan, Nydia Ecury and Desiree Correa are just a few Curaçaoan authors of children's literature. A children's bedtime story comes from a collection written by Desiree Correa, and is entitled, *E piscado y e pisca* [The fisherman and the fish] (2001).

E piscado y e pisca

> Tabata tin un biaha un piscado cu a bay pica den su boto chikito. Despues di un rato el a coy un pisca grandi y gordo. Ma ora el a saca e pisca, e pisca a cuminsa yora: "Shon piscado, laga mi bay. Mi no por keda fo'i awa. Mi ta hoga!"
>
> E piscado a cuminsa hari y el a bisa e pisca: "Bo ta hoga? Hala rosea, haci mescos cu ami ta haci! Ha, ha, ha..." Den esey e biento a cuminsa supla hopi fuerte y un ola grandi a bolter e boto boca abao. El

piscado y e pisca a cay na awa. E piscado a cuminsa keha: "Mi ta hoga, mi ta hoga, mi a guli hopi awa." E pisca a wak e piscado y el a cuminsa hari: "Bo ta hoga? Hala rosea den awa manera ami ta haci!"

The fisherman and the Fish

Once upon a time there was a fisherman who went fishing in his small boat. After some time he caught a big, fat fish. But when he reeled the fish in, it began to cry: "Mister fisherman, let me go. I cannot live outside the water. I am suffocating!"

The fisherman started to laugh and said to the fish: "You're suffocating? Breathe, do the same as I am doing! Ha, ha, ha...". All of a sudden a big wind started up and a big wave overturned the boat. Both the fisherman and the fish fell into the water. The fisherman began to complain: "I am suffocating, I am drowning, I have swallowed a lot of water." The fish looked at the fisherman and began to laugh: "You are suffocating? Breathe in the water just like I am doing!"

Whereas a literary text transmits explicit and implied cultural (often masculine) values, one must accept as well that the reader is also a carrier of perceptual prejudices. The creativity of reading allows for many insightful and fresh analyses. Gender is an important and valid consideration in textual analysis, more specifically, attention to the concept "woman" in literary studies is not without significant and radical implications and consequences. The concept "woman" is not only biologically determined, but is psychologically, linguistically, and socially defined. The portrayals and representations of women in texts are not only governed by literary considerations, but eventually are circumscribed by socio-cultural conventions. By putting a female character on centre stage and likewise presenting and developing diversity of other female characters in varying situations, these Caribbean writers manage to capture how women can cope and even expand their horizons and possibilities of forming distinct identities.

Philomena Wong was born in Aruba on Dec. 22, 1941. Below are the first five verses from her rather lengthy poem *Awe* [Today], which displays an inner coherence and mood, describing that today has gone, never to return. It is a nostalgic farewell (Williams 2000: 154).

Awe

Maneru'un muribundo
den mei djun anochi preto
"Awe"
a muri keto,

sin snek, ni sapatia.
"Awe"
t'ayera,
leu pa no bolbe mas.

"Cumind'i bichi!"
Caba na nada!
No a resta ni ilushon.
Futuro ta lora den presente,

semper mas lihe,
cada bes mas pura.
Minuut ta pusta ora!
Tem'ta bula bai!

Scuridad penetrante
ta rouw severamente
p'e "Awe",
cu awor t'ayera.

Today

Like one who is fading
in the midst of a black night
"Today"
died silently,

without food or clothing
"Today"
is yesterday
gone, never to return.

"Maggot's fodder"!
Nothing remains,
Not even one illusion.
The future turns into the present

always faster
in a growing rush.
The minutes race against the hours!
Time flies by!

The deepest darkness
mourns terribly
for "Today"
which now is yesterday.

In *Mundu Yama Sinta Mira* (1992), it is noted that women's voice, once nearly silent, began to be heard with clarity and more forcefully in Papiamentu after the uprising of May 30, 1969. This use of Papiamentu by women in their writing, contributed much to the way Papiamentu came to be more esteemed in the eyes of the Curaçaoan Antillean. Maria Diwan is one of the best known and prolific women writers in the ABC islands. She has written numerous children's stories and has various collections of poetry to her credit. She is also actively involved in promoting the Papiamentu language. Diwan bought airspace on a local radio station, and every morning one can hear her voice on the

radio when she presents a program called: *Den kibrá di madrugá* [At daybreak] dedicated to promote culture and literature in general, and Curaçaoan culture and Papiamentu literature specifically. She promotes local artists and plays typical Antillean music. About her poetry Diwan writes:

> Konsientemente mi a usa idioma simpel den mi poemanan, pasobra mi ke alkansá presisamente e hendenan ku tin difikultat ku poesia mashá kompliká. Komo nan no por komprendé e poemanan difísil ei, nan ta pèrdè interes pa poesia...No tabata mi intenshon pa pone mundu literario di Kòrsou keda asombrá ku mi poemanan, den sentido di: esta bunita palabra poétiko e ta usa. Mi tabata ke alkansá ku mi poesia e hòmber i e muhé simpel, logra pa nan komprondé e mensahe na un manera trankil i relahá. Prueba es ku ta pa pueblo mi ta skirbi (In Broek 1998: 212).

> It is on purpose that I use simple language in my poems, because I want to reach those people who experience difficulty with more complicated poetry. Since they do not understand complicated poetry, they lose interest in poetry...It was not my intention to astonish the Curaçaoan literary world with my poems, in the sense of: "My what beautiful language this poet is using". I wanted to reach with my poetry the humble man and woman, hoping that they understand the message in a tranquil and relaxed manner. I am writing thus in fact for the people.

Following is Maria Diwan's poem "*Muhé den Sinku*" ["Woman in Five"] from her collection *Suspiro* [Sigh] (1989). Her use of the past conditional is reflected in the line: *Lo mi mester tabata bo amiga* [I would have had to have been your friend]. The first four stanzas all contain this past conditional clause and point out that the reality is different. The poem describes a woman who wished to show love, compassion, and support for her "sister," but who is somehow restricted due to certain boundaries and limitations. It may be that Diwan describes a personal trial or else a fictitious one. A great hunger to be helpful is noted, and at the same time, possible misinterpretations of this caring attitude is

equally noted. There is the sense of, I would have done this for you, but in order to have done so, I would have had to have been your friend, sister, mother or wife. Diwan ends her poem stating that since she realizes she is none of the aforementioned yet still filled with an immense desire to help, she will hide her true love, care, and hesitation and offer perhaps with a suspiro [sigh], a place where one can come to rest (1989: 15).

Muhé den Sinku

Pa mi por baha ku bo
te den profundidat di mi rosea
konfiabo tur loke mi ta sinti,
lo mi mester tabata bo amiga.

Pa mi por ta uní ku bo
pa lei di naturalesa
sin tin di envidiá ningun di bo amonan,
lo mi mester tabata bo ruman.

Pa mi por kuidabo
respaldabo den momentunan difísil
dunabo e kariño mas limpi i sagrado
lo mi mester tabata bo mama.

Pa mi por stimabo
sintimi parti di bo,
karisiábo tur dia tur momentu,
lo mi mester tabata bo muhé.

Pero komo mi no ta ningun di nan,
lo mi skonde mi kariño,
mi termura i konformámi ku ser únikamente
bo oase di okashon.

Woman in Five

For me to descend with you
to the depths of my breath
and share with you all that I feel,
I must have been your friend.

For me to be able to be joined to you
according to the laws of nature,
without having to be envious of any of your lovers,
I must have been your sister.

For me to take care of you
back you up in difficult moments,
give you the purest and sacred love,
I must have been your mother.

For me to love you
to feel as if I were a part of you
hold you dear each day, each moment,
I must have been your wife.

But as I am none of the above,
I shall hide my affection,
my tenderness and agree to be just
your occasional oasis.

The issue surrounding the preoccupation with blood relations, descent, mixture of people of various races, languages and cultures frequently replays in the writing of Antillean writers, men and women. In the poem *Bos di Sanger* [Voice of blood] by Nydia Ecury, the soul of her grandmother is whispers in her ear: "Your blood is thicker than that of any other." Nydia Ecury was born on February 2, 1926 in Aruba. Ecury worked for some time as a teacher of English and was very involved with the arts and orchestrated her own one-woman show, *Luna di papel* [Paper moon], which drew great reviews. She also wrote several collections of poetry. The poem *Bos di Sanger* reflects Ecury's aware-

ness of her mixed heritage. Below are the first few lines of *Bos di Sanger* (In Claassen 1992: 196):

Den mi soño
spiritu di mi wela
ta supla den mi orea:
"Bo sanger ta mas diki
ku di tur..."
i den anochi skur
mi ta hañami ta karga
fligí ku un soledat intenso
e Tumba inmenso
di tur mi antepasadonan.

In my dream
the voice of my grandmother
whispers in my ear:
"Your blood is thicker
than any other..."
And in the dark night
I feel overwhelmed
overcome by a vast isolation,
the huge Grave
of all my ancestors.

The following poem, while not by a woman, is placed here as a further example of the preoccupation with ethnic/racial roots, color, and heritage. Zack Gilbert wrote the poem in 1963. Whereas the above poem by Nydia Ecury shows an awareness and acceptance of her ethnic heritage, the poem by Gilbert shows that although supposedly content with his state, he prays for a miracle. The poem is called, *Orashon di un neger* [Prayer of a Negro] (In Broek 1998: 71).

Orashon di un neger

Si mi drenta den Bo Gloria, Señor Hesus
No ta nada, si Bo dunami un kruk o stul di oro
O si Bo dunami un karson òf un bistí largu
Señor Dios, basta Bo salba mi alma.
Ma Señor Hesus, si por akaso...
Si, si por akaso, ku nan aya tambe...
Señor Dios Todopoderoso - pa ta presis
Dunami anto kabei sauve
I un kara smal i blanku.

Mi ta mashá satisfecho ku mi kara pretu,
Mashá kontentu tambe ku mi kabei peper.
Pero si mi bai shelu, Señor Hesus,
Pa ta presis
Dunami anto kabei suave
I un kara smal i blanku.

Dos bes e fièrnu ta parsemi un poko di mas.
Esaki no ta meresé ni un kachó.
Anto, si mi drenta den Bo Gloria, Señor Hesus
Solamente pa ta presis,
Dunami anto kabei suave,
I un kara smal i blanku.

Prayer of a Negro

Should I enter heaven, Lord Jesus
It does not matter whether you give me a stool or a golden chair
Or if you give me a pair of pants, or a long shirt.
Dear God, it is enough that you save my soul.
But, Lord Jesus, just in case...
If, if perhaps, they are there also...
Omnipotent God - just to be clear
Please give me smooth hair
And a narrow, white face.

I am very satisfied with my black skin

And am also content with my frizzy hair,
But, should I enter heaven Lord Jesus,
just to clarify myself,
Please give me straight hair
And a narrow, white face.

To endure twice the same lot,
Appears to me to be a bit much.
Such a fate one would not even wish on a dog.
Therefore, should I enter heaven, Lord Jesus,
Please give me straight hair
And a narrow, white face.

Maria Liberia-Peters, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands Antilles in 1992, was responsible for opening the third International Caribbean Women Writers Conference in July of 1992, in Willemstad, Curaçao. Her theme was *"Muhé, unda b'a keda?"* [Woman, where did you get to?]. As an answer to her own question she said:

> As the question just asked suggests, much is still to be done, nevertheless, important is the fact that we, women from the Caribbean have not been voiceless and are not voiceless. We don't need to create as if from out of the blue, voices to phrase our feelings, thoughts, frustrations, critique, passions, ideas and ideals. We have done so throughout history (In Broek 1999: 209).

The feminist movement came to the islands with the return of those women who went to study abroad. And with them came the desire to create the *Union Muhé Antiano* [The Antillean Women's Union] in 1975 (210). Soon after the foundation of this group, there appeared the first edition of their magazine *Bosero* [Voice] in 1977. The magazine dedicated attention to many and varied topics including healthy diets, women sexuality, women in the work force, historic topics such as women slaves, women in politics and in education. In every edition a section was dedicated to poetry by men authors, who focused on producing poetry that respected women and showed them in a favorable light.

Despite all their push for the cause of women, there was not a great surge of literature written by women, except in the field of children's literature. The following chapter contains the poem *Mi nigrita Papiamentu*, a poem in which a Creole woman is presented. The poem deserves a chapter of its own as it is the most expressive writing, in my opinion, to describe the historical unfolding of colonization, the slave industry that saw whole groups of people transported to new locations and new environments, and the resulting creation of Papiamentu. Guillermo Rosario offers a view of how things may have played out in the past, and combines this with the present in the story he writes in *Mi nigrita Papiamentu.*

Chapter 6: Mi Nigrita Papiamentu - A Poem on Papiamentu in Papiamentu, Translated and with Commentary

Guillermo Rosario's poem *Mi Nigrita Papiamentu* [My Darling Papiamentu] (1971) is a historical narration with the goal of presenting a collage of retrieved collective memory of Caribbean colonial reality adapted to the ideological needs of a Creole society. Rosario paints a picture of the Curaçaoan woman from the past and presents her in the present. In contrast to Zack Gilbert (see chapter 5), Rosario presents the Antillean and the Papiamentu language as having settled in the role of the present. Recounting historical changes of the Antillean, hiding his past, and appearance, Rosario presents the Antillean with a new cultural awareness that is reflected in the lines of his poem *Mi nigrita Papiamentu*:

Before:

Bo ta manera	You are like
e	the
funchi ku piská	*funchi* and fish,
o funchi ku gyambo	or *funchi* and okra,
ku hopi	which many in order not
pa no keda menos	to appear of the lower classes
tabatin repara	would take great pains not
di kome	to eat

and **After**:

Nos ta propagá	We advertise
not tambú	our *tambú* songs
meskos	in the same way
ku	as
nos	our
funchi ku piská	*funchi* and fish
den hotélnan di luho	in luxurious hotels

The author addresses the problems of women and the need for pride in their cultural heritage. He encourages questioning the Eurocentric notions of beauty and the way such notions may have led people of African descent on the islands to question their self-worth. He describes qualities of beauty that clearly lie in the eyes of the beholder, yet which culture would not identify with words such as *kweru lizu* [smooth skinned] or *kurpa senswal* [sensual body]? Zack Gilbert's poem (see page 156-8) alerts the reader to the character's discomfort of having kinky hair and dark skin, attributes he does not consider beautiful, whereas Rosario's woman finds peace and resolve in who she is and accepts herself, just as the author asks his fellow country men to accept the Papiamentu language. Rosario gives examples of this by recounting how in the past hair straighteners were used as well as whitening solutions that were so dangerous as to burn and scar a person if not used in the right manner. Later he describes how this detested kinky hair is now used as a symbol of "Black is beautiful."

Below is the translation of Guillermo Rosario's poem *Mi Nigrita Papiamentu.* The term *nigrita* is often used as a term of endearment without the slightest connotation to race or color. In Rosario's title, the term *nigrita* has incorporated into it the endearment concept as well as the "not white race issue." Very quickly upon reading even parts of this lengthy poem what becomes obvious is the clear admiration and love the poet has for his *nigrita,* which in this case is the Papiamentu language. Guillermo Rosario writes this poem out of a remembered past and tries to rationalize and find peace with those long ago happenings. He begins with a confession of love for his Creole Papiamentu and writes that he loves it in the same manner as he loves the Creole woman of his country. He describes the Creole woman and all her assets. Then he describes how in earlier times, the Creole woman was used by the Jew as a nursemaid, the well-known *yaya*, and who

was also used as a bed warmer. He tells of her use by the Protestant white man as a remedy for when he had had words with his wife, was in a bad mood, and needing to be comforted. He describes her as the black harlot used by the Portuguese merchants, as the refined Black woman living as wife with a Dutchman and as the freed Black woman who conjoins with the Indian. Rosario likens this Creole woman to the Papiamentu language that underwent changes and came into contact with different languages and cultures that included a different cuisine. The process of creolization Rosario conveys in his poem is a blending of African and European influences (note his reference to coffee and cream) on cultural development, characteristic throughout the entire Caribbean to be sure, but notably so in the Papiamentu speaking islands. The end of the poem notes the author's peace and pride in the newly formed race and language, both results of mixtures that occurred through time.

Rosario's poem depicts a recognizable geographic setting and conveys brilliantly the colonial and Creole culture with specific emphasis on local color. The poem speaks to women's lives without judgment of their choices and roles which are still steeped in cultural/geographical stereotypes. Guillermo Rosario presents history as a story. This story becomes a backdrop for specific historical events in the development of Papiamentu. At the linguistic level the colloquial style of the author increases the reader's ability to become involved in the story, almost as if present in the development of Papiamentu. This poem is truly a beautiful hymn praising the creative potential of the Papiamentu language.

In Rosario's poem, *mi nigrita* is seen to take a firm stance, one in which she decides the outcome of her life by taking her identity into her own hands. The poem speaks of determination, struggle, and triumph that will eventually but surely come to

fruition. Although composed by a man, *Mi nigrita Papiamentu* can be thought of as an expression of other women's voices involved in their exploration and growth of identity. Understanding her struggle in taking up her place in society makes us all aware that literature is more than sociology or history.

Mi Nigrita Papiamentu

Ay,
mi nigrita-papiamentu
mi stimabo
meskos ku mi stima
e
muhé krioyo
dushi
di mi tera.

Esun ku'n stansha
agradabel i partikular
yen di vigor
orguyosa manera
un
kabay di rasa,
konsyente
di
su balor.

Esun ku
frenta anchu
boka grandi
wowo skur
ku ta
kórta kandela
sea ora e ta rabyá
o
e ta kontentu.
Esun ku
mirada di soño

My Darling Papiamentu

Oh,
My darling Papiamentu
I love you
just as I love
the
sweet Creole
woman
of my country.

The one with a pleasant
and unique inner strength,
full of a proud energy,
much like
a
pedigreed horse
fully aware
of
its worth.

The one with
a wide forehead,
large mouth,
dark eyes
that can
put a candle to shame,
whether she is angry
or
whether she is happy.
The one with
a dreamy look

ora e ta stima;
lep di
wendreif pretu echu
ku ta sunchi
ku un smak
manera di
kenep'i dam
ku medyo a putri;
djente blanku
manera pérla;
nanishi
medyo pará
ku ta laga
e balki
drumi riba
e dos bok'i fórnu.

when she makes love;
lips like
ripe black grapes
that when kissed
taste
like some
exotic
tropical fruit;
white teeth
like pearls;
a nose
positioned in the centre
which allows
the brow
to rest above
the two burning orbs.

Esun ku
pechunan pará
i duru
manera un meskla
di
lará i grepfrut regular,
bon sanka
hep anchu
manera brik
pa hopi karga;
kwer'i barika
asentwá
ku ta pone hende
pensa tur kos;
brasa largu, obra di arte;
mannan sensibel
pa karisyá
i
hasi tur klas'i trabow.

The one with
erect and firm
breasts
that resemble a mix
between
oranges and grapefruit;
fine buttocks,
wide hips
to carry a
heavy load;
remarkable skin and
tummy
to turn every
man's head;
long arms, a work of art;
sensitive hands
to caress
and
to perform all kinds of labor.

Esun
ku
pal'i pia
fuérte,

The one
with
strong
legs,

form'i papilon
kweru lizu
koló di
mespu echu
o
di chukulati
kurpa senswal
i
atraktivo;
kaná
manera
zjilea
drumi lánta manisé.

well formed,
smooth skinned,
the color of
ripe medlar fruit
or
like the color of chocolate;
sensual body
and
attractive,
stirring man
like a
desire in
the early dawn.

Bo ta manera
e
muhé pretu
simía
ku
bo no ta haña
otro kaminda
sino
akí so
riba e swela
ku ta prudusí
poko awa,
ma
di un gusto uniko:
aw'i pos
ku ta imitá
awa di koko.

You are like
the
Black woman;
offspring (lit. seed)
which
you will not encounter
any other place
except
right here
upon the soil
that produces
but a small quantity of water,
but
with a unique taste:
well water
that imitates
coconut milk.

ANTES

Bo ta manera
e
"Yaya"
ku e Hudiw
so ke a uza
komo su
"ko'i pasa bon".

BEFORE

You are like
the
yaya
whom the (Sephardic) Jew
only wanted to use
as his
"plaything".

Bon
pa yaya mucha
ma no pa otro kosnan
ku por a mira
lus di dia;
bon pa kama
no
pa altá
i
den bwélta
pa saka yu ku n'e.
Bo ta manera
e
"nigrita"
ku e
Protestant blanku
a uza
pa
"remedi"
Ku ora e ta fuma,
di mal beis
o pleitá
ku Shon muhé
e ta hala
den ka'i wa'
dun'e yu
na granél,
ku por haña
nómber di
e tata,
ma...,
birá
di drechi pa robes.

Bo ta manera
e
"Shishi pretu"
k'e
Kompader Portuges
a kontra
den su kaminda

Good
to take care of the children
but not for other things
that can bear to see
the light of day;
good for bed,
not
for the altar,
and
by chance
to create a child with her.
You are like
the
nigrita
whom the
white Protestant man
has used
as
relief
when he is plagued
by a bad mood
or when he has fought
with his Mrs.,
he then seeks
his fun somewhere else
gives her children
in abundance
who may receive
the name of
their father
but...,
turned
front to back.

You are like
the
Black hooker
whom the
Portuguese merchant
encountered
on his path and

ku na lugá	who instead
di bay "kampo"	of going out of town
a keda serka	stayed close
di	by the
kampamentu	camp
pa poko plaka	and for a little bit of money
a hink'e	puts her up
de un bohiyo	in a shack,
a traha yu	gets her
ku n'e	with child
sin stelustan,	without any care
komo protekshon	as to its protection
di su	for its
propyo futuro.	rightful future.
Bo ta manera	You are like
e	the
muhé pretu fini	refined Black woman
k'e Makamba	whom the *Makamba*
ku	in spite of
tur su pérwisyo	all his prejudices
di deskriminashon	of discrimination
i segregashon,	and segregation,
sí	yet
a duna nómber	has given the name
di	of
esposa	wife
i	and
ku orguyoso i kontentu	who proudly and happily
a pon'e	looks after
den katuna	her
masha tem'	early on
promé ku esnan mes	and long before those
k'e ta toka	he knows
a diskubrí	discovered
ku	that
"Black is Beautiful".	Black is Beautiful.
Bo ta manera	You are like
e	the
"Pretu liber"	freed Black woman

k'a buska
relashon
k'e Indjan
i
ku
a base
di nan amor
pa otro
a
pone
fundeshi
pa
prokreá
un rasa nobo.

who sought out
a relationship
with the Indian
and who
on
the basis
of their love
for each other
did
lay
the foundation
to
create
a new race.

Bo ta manera
e mucha muhé
di koló
modernu,
bon kurpa
i
"bon presensya"
ku e
Estudyante-Trahador
Yu di Kórsow
a bay laga
"mitar-mitar"
i despwes
di a bolbe
ku titulo,
a presentá
k'un di "Zeedijk"
na brasa;
i
pa despecho
i
"mihó trabow"
ó
mas byen,
komo "pasa boka"
(bakoba reip riba mesa

You are like
the colored
modern
girl
with a nice body
and
a fine bearing,
whom the
Curaçaoan
student worker
left
high and dry
and later
having returned
with a degree,
presented himself
with one from *Zeedijk*
at his side;
and
for gains
and
better employment
or
better yet
as a respectable dish
(ripe bananas on the table,

bakoba konfeit
pa kome unbes)
ta sali ku n'e
den owto grandi
ma...,
despwes ku solo baha...!

Bo ta manera
e
tambú
ku un tempu
pa bérgwensa
nan no tabata ke
pa nos toka
den stat,
ma
pa nos goso
nos mester
a hui ku n'e
bay mondi.

Bo ta manera
e
funchi ku piská
o funchi ku gyambo
ku hopi
pa no keda menos
tabatin ripara
di kome
dilanti
di esnan di afó
i natural
no tabata bini
riba mesa
ni den hadrei
ni den komedor
ma mester a kom'e
den purá
den kushina
oblig'é
kay pisá

banana chips
to eat as a snack)
drives her around
in a big car
but...,
after the suns sets...!

You are like
the
tambú
which at one time
out of shame,
they did not want us
to perform
in the cities,
but
which, in order to enjoy it,
we had
to flee with it
into the country side.

You are like
the
funchi and fish,
or *funchi* and okra,
which many
in order not to appear inferior,
would take great pains not
to eat
in front
of strangers
and which naturally
would not appear
at the table,
neither in the front hall,
nor in the dining room,
but which needed to be eaten
in a hurry
in the kitchen
causing it
to fall heavily

riba nos stoma.

Bo ta manera
e
pargata
ku antes,
tabata manera
un krimen oribel
si bo tabatin'e
na bo pia
pasó'
e tabata loke
mas serka
tabata yega
n'e sambarku,
simbolo
di nos
esklabitut pasá.

Bo ta manera
nos
kabei "kring"
o di
"peper"
ku Dyos
a dunanos,
ma ku nos
tabata
despresyá
i tabata strika
hasi "bon"
pa imitá
loke nos no ta;
maske nos tabata
kore risku
ku esey
di kima
nos kweru
o
kohe
un plasma.

on our stomachs.

You are like
the
hemp-soled sandal
which earlier
was like
a terrible stigma
if you had it
on your feet
because
it was what
closely
resembled
the peasant sandal,
symbol
of our past
state of servitude.

You are like
our
kinky hair
our our
frizzy hair,
which God
gave us,
but which
we
despised
and which we straightened
to make it smooth
trying to be
that which we were not;
moreover we
now ran
the risk
of burning
our skins
or
receiving
scars.

Bo ta manera
e
hómber
o muhé pretu
Yu di Kórsow
ku, sin sa
ki previligyá
e ta
ku su koló
di chukulati
o esun
di mespu echu,
ke uza kos
pa bira blanku
ku risku
di ofendé
su salú.

You are like
the
Black man
or woman,
Yu di Kórsow
who, without realizing
how privileged
he is
with his
chocolate color
or the next person,
with the color of ripe medlar fruit,
yet wanting to use products
to become white
at the risk
of impairing
his health.

Bo ta manera
e
muhé di nos
ku nan
tabata bisa
ta mahós
i sobadje
nan tabata
fórsa
den un shimis baladrán
di e shon blanku
pa e
no saka
e forma bunita
ku Dyos
a dun'e.

You are like
one
of our women,
of whom they
used to say,
they were ugly
and what is more,
they used
to force
into the corsets
of the white masters
so that she
would not display
that beautiful
and God-given
form.

Bo ta manera
e chuchubi
nos para Nashonal,
ku pa kwantu
nan kore ku n'e

You are like
the *chuchubi*,
our national bird,
that for however much
they chase it away

fo'i tur kaminda,
semper
e tey atrobe
yen di vigor
i
energía
i
ku mas
determinashon
pa keda.

Ma,
tambe
bo ta manera
nos rank'i angló
ku
pa kwantu
nan trap'e,
ranka su yerbanan,
marchitá
su flornan
i hasta distruí
su raís,
e ta bolbe lanta kabes
i
ku kada yobida
e ta krese
ku mas forsa
i
mas bunitesa
ku antes.

Ta
pa tur esakinan,
mi dushi
nigrita-papyamentu
mi ke
pa
bo ta bistí
na ordú,
komportabo

from place to place,
it always
is there again
full of vigor
and
energy
and
with even more
determination
to stay.

But,
also,
you are like
our yellow flowering thorn bush
which,
however much
they stomp on it,
pull out its stems,
causing
its flowers to wither
and even destroying
its very root,
yet returns raising its head
and
with each rainfall
grows
with renewed power
and
more beauty
than before.

Because
of all these reasons,
my sweet
darling Papiamentu
I want
that
you are clothed
decently,
behaving yourself

segun
e
reglanan establesí
i
mi ke
pa bo sigi tempu
ma,
keda semper bay
bo mes...!

Mi sa tambe
ku te aínda
abo, meskos
ku e muhé pretu,
mirá
den e bistanan
konservador,
boso ta "mahós",
ma, hasta nan,
ku ta bisa'sina
a lo largu
ta bin rekonosebo
ku tur bo
antoho i enkantonan,
komo algu
pará riba su so
ku lo no laga
konfushon
si bo ta
Ulandes o Ingles
Spañó o Portuges
sino di nos...!

Pasobra,
meskos ku
e
muhé pretu fini,
no a haña
rekonosementu
di
su mes hendenan,

according to
the
established rules
and
I want
that you keep on existing
through time, but
always keep being
yourself...!

I know also
that until now
you, just like
the Black woman who
was looked at through
conservative
lenses,
was considered ugly,
but now, even those
who said that,
by and by,
have come to recognize
that all your
preciousness and enchantments
stand as something
unique,
which will not leave
any confusion
as to your being
Dutch, or English,
Spanish or Portuguese,
except that you are Ours...!

Because,
just like
the
refined Black woman
who did not receive
recognition
of
her own people,

i
ku ta e Makamba
mester a
dun'e
nómber di "señora",
meskos abo tambe
mi nigrita-papyamentu
ta esnan di afó
promé
ku esnan di kas,
mester a rekonosebo
komo idyoma.

Ma
meskos ku e
muhé pretu
abo tampoko
no mester laganan
dórnabo ku kosnan
di otro sin mas.
Uza bo
mes prendanan original
o remodelá
esun ku bo haña
di otro.
Kohe aden o
hasi nan anchu
lag'e dosha bon
na bo form'i kurpa.

Na prinsipyo
hopi
lo keda
straño
ma, despwes,
nan lo bin kustumá
ku bo ta bunita
na bo manera.

Pasobra,
awor

and
to whom the Dutchman
had to
give
the name of Mrs.
likewise you too,
my darling Papiamentu
are being recognized
first by those from abroad even
before our own people
recognize you
as a proper language.

But
just like the
Black woman,
neither ought
you to let them
adorn you with
unnecessary things.
Use your
own original resources
or else refashion
those you received
from others.
Adopt them or
expand them
in order to enhance
the shape of your body.

In the beginning
much
will be
strange,
but, afterwards
they will become accustomed
to the fact that you are beautiful
in your own way.

Because,
now,

uzando kosnan
modernu,
abo,
meskos ku nos
muhé pretu,
por soportá
e mihó komparashon
na lado
di kwalke di afó
pasó'
abo ta bunita
anochi i di dia
den kushina
o
den sala
meskos ku
riba kaya.....

Mi ta kombensí
ku abo
meskos
ku
mi muhé pretu
por ser uzá
pa su kurpa
komo e mecha
pa motivá
kwalke
bómbóshi,
pone tinu
mantené
bo altura,
no laga
bo kurpa
bay,
no degenerá,...!

Pasó'
mi dushi,
laga mahadónan
maha bay.

using modern
resources,
you,
just like our
Black woman
are able to withstand
the closest scrutiny
on
every front,
because
you are beautiful,
night or day,
in the kitchen
or
in the living room,
as well as
in the street.....

I am convinced
that you
just
like
the Black woman
may be used
for your body,
as the spark
to motivate
whichever
nuance.
Pay attention!
Keep
your dignity!
Don't let
your body
go,
Don't let it deteriorate...!

Because
my sweetheart,
let the naggers
keep on nagging.

Tempu a kambya,
nos mentalidat
a kambya,
nos karakter
a kambya
i
nos koló
tambe
a kambya
ku tempu.

E koló puro
di koffi stérki
di nos
hendenan di antes
ya no ta esun
di mayoria
di nos pweblo,

Pasó'
meskos ku esun
puru puru di lechi
di e "shonnan",
e tambe a bira
un minoria.
Awor nos tin
un rasa mesklá
di e
"Yaya" ku e Hudiw
di e
"Nigrita" ku e
Protestant blanku
di e
"Shishi pretu" ku e
Kompader Portuges
"muhé pretu fini"
ku e Ulandes
i e producto
dje enkwentro
entre e pretu liber
i e Indjan.

Times have changed,
our mentality
has changed
our character
has changed
and
our color
also
has changed
with time.

That pure color
of black coffee
of our
forefathers
now no longer is that
of the majority
of our people,

Because
the same can be said of the
pure color of milk
of the owners,
which also has become
a minority.
Now we have
a mixed race
of the
yaya and the Jew,
of the
Black woman and the
white Protestant,
of the
Black hooker and the
Portuguese merchant, of
the refined Black woman
and the Dutchman,
and the product
of the encounter
between the freed Black woman
and the Indian.

Meskos
ku den bo kaso
proménan aya
nos grandinan a
pone man na kabes
dia ku e
yu muhé,
ruman muhé,
prima
o famía
a yega kas
ku
e fruta
dje "mangusá".

Ma
bida
a sigi su kurso
kosnan a sigi
kambya
sin nos nota.
Poko poko
nos a bin hañanos
rondoná
di un rasa nobo.

Na lugá di e
koffi stérki,
nos a bin hañanos
ku e koló
di chukulati, mespu echu
o
e koló di e koffi
ku hopi lechi aden.

Kisas
t'e ponche aki
k'a trese e
konsenshi i balor
den nos mes...?

Just like
in your case,
in earlier times
our forefathers
used to be horrified
the day in which the
daughter,
sister,
niece,
or some other family member
would come home
with
the fruit
of that mixed cohabitation.

But
life
continued its course,
things continued
to change
without notice.
Slowly
we came to find ourselves
in the midst
of a new race.

In the place of
strong black coffee,
we find ourselves
with the color
of chocolate, ripe medlar fruit
or
the color of coffee
with much milk.

Perhaps
it was this mixture
that created an
awareness and sense of value
within us...?

Asina ey,
mi dushi lenga,
nos a traha ku bo
ku geni
ku luango
ku makamba
ku ingles kibrá,
ku spaño emfermo
ku mitar portuges
ku mitar ulandes.

Nos mama i
nos tata
rumannan
nos primu i
famíanan
tambe a pone
man na kabes
pasó' kosnan
straño tabata
pasa ku bo.

Ma porfin
nos a bin hañanos
ku un idyoma propyo
komo resultado di e
kambyonan aki.
Ya nos no ta papya
ni di
geni, ni luango
ni makamba
ni ingles kibrá
ni spaño emfermo
mitar portuges
o mitar hulandes
sino di
"PAPYAMENTU'
un "flatap"
di tur e mesklanan
ku sigel i sigelnan

In that way,
my sweet language,
we worked with you,
with Gueni,
with Luango,
with *makamba*,
with broken English,
with stilted Spanish,
with half Portuguese,
with half Dutch.

Our mothers and
our fathers
sisters and brothers
our cousins and
family members
also shook
their heads
because strange
things were
happening to you.

But finally
we are left
with our own language
as a result of these
changes.
Now we no longer speak
of either
Gueni, Luango,
makamba,
broken English,
stilted Spanish,
half Portuguese
or half Dutch.
Instead we speak of
"PAPIAMENTU"
a concoction
of all the mixtures
that century after century

a bira unu
sin ku nos a dunanos
kwenta di esey.

Meskos ku e koló
di lechi puru
no por a bringa
e mesklamentu
ku e
koló
di koffi stérki,
asina tampoko
nos lo por
bringa e kambyonan
ku a drenta
den bo
i
ku sigur
a faboresebo.

AWOR

Mi dushi
nigrita-papyamentu
tur kos
a bira deferént:
Nos ta propagá
nos tambú
meskos
ku
nos
funchi ku piská
den hotélnan di luho
i
nos ta
alabanan
dilanti
di straño i di kas.....

Nos
ku ta mas hopi

became united
without us even
taking notice.

Just as the color
of white milk
could not fight against
the mixing
of the
color
of black coffee,
neither
could we
fight against the changes
which entered
you
and
which surely are
in your favor.

NOW

My dear
darling Papiamentu,
all things
have changed:
We advertise
our *tambú* songs
in the same way
as
our
funchi and fish
in fancy hotels
and
we
praise them
to strangers
and to those from home.....

We,
who are the majority

ya
no tin bérgwensa
di nos kabei
di "kring" o di "peper"
anke p'esey
nos ta uza
estilo "Afro"
ma,
nos n'ta imitá
e "bon" aya mas.

Pargata a bira
kos di luho
maske p'esey
nos mester
pone
un pón-pón
riba dje.

Mi ke
pa porfin
bo bira
manera nos
stobá di bestya chikí
nos barí será
nos sopitu
nos tumba,
o sopi di piská
nos gyambo ku funchi
o
bolo pretu
nos wiri
o triangel
nos tentalarya
o
panseiku;
Tur,
kosnan
pará riba nan so
di nos...!

now,
are not ashamed
of our kinky hair
nor of our frizzy hair,
although
we do use
the Afro style
but,
we no longer imitate
the smooth hair of earlier times.

The hemp-soled sandal turned
into a luxury item,
although
we had to
place
a pompom
on top.

I would like
that ultimately
you become
like our
goat stew,
our *bari será* (Antillean dish)
our soup,
our *tumba* dances and songs
our fish soup,
our okra and *funchi*,
or our
bolo pretu (black fruit cake)
our *wiri* (musical instrument)
our musical triangle
our delicacies
or our
peanut brittle.
All
things
that stand on their own and
that are ours...!

Anto
mas awor
ku hasta esnan
ku un tempu
tabatin bérgwensa
den bo uzu,
ta bin pretendé
di ta
spesyalista
i kampion
den bo kawsa
komo idyoma;

Mi
ta mas sigur
ku
lo yega
e
dia
ku
abo
mi dushi lenga
lo ta pará
riba
bo mes
mei-mei
di
hopi straño,

ma,
den
un pwesto previligyá
bunita
pa nos,
uniforme,
praktiko
i
konsekwente
den tur aspekto

E ora ey

And
now even
those
who at one time
were ashamed
to use you,
pretend
to be
specialists
and even champions
for your cause
as a language;

I
am very sure
that
there will come
the
day
in which
you
my dear language
will stand proudly
on your
own
amidst
foreign
languages,

but now
in
a privileged position,
beautiful
to us,
uniform,
practical
and
consequently,
in all walks of life.

At that time

lo bo
skucha
gritunan
di atmirashon
hé..hé..hé.....
fleitmentu
fwuiiii...fwuooooo.....

you will
hear
screams
of admiration
hey..hey..hey.....,
whistling also,
fwuiiii...fwuooooo.....

E ora ey sí,
esnan
di bo
ku,
te awe
no a hasi kaso
lo bin apresyabo
i dunabo, bo balor.

Then, yes,
those
of you
who,
until today
did nothing
will come to appreciate you
and give you laud.

E rekonosementu
aki
di pursi
lon'ta
pasobra
bo parse
spañó, ulandes
ingles ni portuges
sino
pa bo meritonan
propio.

The recognition
now
perceived
will not be
because
you resemble
Spanish, Dutch
English nor Portuguese,
but,
because of
your own merit.

Asina ey meskos
profin
nan lo duna
balor na nos
muhé krioyo
pa su
zjeitunan personal.

Then,
finally,
they will give
credence to our
Creole women
for their
spunk.

I
ora esaki sosedé
i
ku

And
when this has happened
and
when with

di bérdé mes
e transformashon
a tuma lugá
rekonosyendo bo
den mil i un
sin duda
nan lo grita
ku un kurason
rebosá
di gran orguyo:
"Ta di nos e ta....."

"TA DI NOS E TA"...!

truth itself,
the transformation
has taken place
recognizing you
as one in a million,
then without a doubt
they will shout
with joyful hearts
bursting
with pride:
"It is ours....."

"IT IS OURS"...!

Conclusion

Translation theory in the past was largely formulated with reference to sacred texts, such as the Bible, and canonical literary works, such as Plato's dialogues, theory that concentrated on the written word, leaving out the oral tradition. However, the transfer of culture through time has been oral, and this continues to be the case, especially in the non-Western world, where literacy still plays a restricted role. Even more important is to ask if a universal theory of translation is possible or even advisable across especially marginalized languages that may have a different set of classification as far as literature is concerned. Rather than being dogmatic, restrictive and prescriptive, using well-known translation theories, I used a broader and more general model to illuminate the sundry collection of texts in this work, if only to promote an awareness of difference.

In the course of writing this dissertation the translation of Papiamentu has proven to be a very difficult yet challenging task that demanded an endless curiosity about turns of phrase and word choices. Translating these works involved much by way of consulting books and people. Though I am the translator, the translations are a collaborative effort. Throughout these translations it was the Papiamentu language, its linguistic as well as its cultural facets, that were foregrounded. Thus, I did not focus on what many may consider core or culturally correct texts, such as the epic, popular drama or the novel. Text types are not the same from culture to culture, especially since oral cultures may well have text types that differ from literate cultures. Becoming more cognizant about the varieties of text types throughout the world will result in a better sense of the surface and deep structures of texts. The examples in this dissertation include poems, short stories, proverbs and signage. This selection and its diversity may well challenge some tenets of

translation theory. I hasten to add that the translations presented here sometimes move beyond the norms for Eurocentric constructions.

In our university library there is but a limited sampling of literature in Papiamentu and not one critical work in English that describes or analyzes literary writings in Papiamentu. I assumed that task of presenting in translation a cross section through time of some of the various text types in Papiamentu, hence the non-critical descriptive nature of this dissertation. My working translation premise was the desire to link examples of Papiamentu oral tradition with the literate and textual tradition thereby showcasing translations of orally performed folktales, riddles and jokes, as well as examples of written literature by male and female authors. I opted for a folkloristic translation theory approach to highlight various folkloric genres that were saturated with several forms of verbal art, and linked these up with examples of the literary tradition of Papiamentu. There is, of course, the theory that scholars of literature develop by looking at translation through history and across cultures. I posit that there also is a "theory" that is generated in the moment by each translator each time he attempts to translate a work. I am referring namely to literary translation. I traveled to Curaçao to do research and to speak with several authors so as to develop a theory for the texts to be translated. A recent book called, *Can Theory Help Translators?* (Chesterman & Wagner 2001) addresses an audience of theorists and translators, asking this very pertinent question. The authors propose that theory is external to the work of translators, not something that they develop in practice, but an external source of help..." (Chesterman & Wagner 2001: 2).

At times there were words that I left untranslated, such as the word *funchi.* This word describes a Creole dish that is made out of cornmeal and yet is completely different from, for example, Johnny cake or cornbread. I could have described the word *funchi* as a

dish made with yellow cornmeal and that when baked has the consistency of polenta, all concepts of which the reader has to be cognizant. I purposely chose not to translate the word, remain ethically neutral to the language, yet remain faithful to the alterity of the text. At the same time I had an obligation to refrain from "exoticising" the text whilst still retaining such words as markers of cultural specificity. Having spent my youth on the islands my experience has necessarily been colored with a Caribbean outlook and my whole being is undeniably linked to that community. It has brought me immense pleasure to offer a glimpse of that Caribbean reality by means of this dissertation on Translating Papiamentu.

The Curaçaoan (and I would include of course the Aruban and the Bonairean) who is neither European nor African, will only find himself if he accepts as his own this unique hybrid creole culture as a point of departure, embracing as well a literature which reflects this creolized reality. The conscious effort to retain a sense of a cultural identity can be seen in the creation of monuments, like the one commemorating Tula, the legendary leader of a slave rebellion, so that one can refer to historical facts, with result that one no longer needs to wander rudderless in a cultural void. As well, the resurrection, complete with governmental and Church blessing of the *tambú*, the *seú* and other folkloric customs, are proof of a renewal of Antillean identity. The *tambú*, originally a way of expression for those of African descent, in its newly restructured form bears more and more the look and label of recreation. This erstwhile dance, once labeled offensive and base, is now celebrated as an important part of the cultural heritage of the ABC islands. If Papiamentu plays an important role in the process of awareness of a unique identity, then Papiamentu literature in translation helps to further that awareness.

One goal in translating the works represented here was to not only allow a greater

audience to meet and understand these otherwise buried treasures of the Antilles, but also to create a space for these Creole speaking/writing authors to address an audience they otherwise would not have had the opportunity to meet. Another objective of this work was to refute the widely held view that Creole languages are simple and primitive and by extension perhaps even those who speak it. By presenting the various text genres included here it is hoped that Papiamentu has proven to be as fully functional a language as any other. The taxonomy of linguistic description is hampered by ambiguities attached to the terms "minority" languages and "Creoles." With introduction of other linguistic norms to which the social issue of prestige is attached, a minority language or Creole might die or at best be relegated to an inferior status. Belonging to a certain community, with values and customs in common, the authors' art is also their communities' existence. And since literature persists beyond their creators these authors not only secure their own existence but also that of their communities. To create in translation a new appreciation of any literature is to make possible entry into a new culture, a new society and, in turn, to promote conditions for changing a culture that its literature both reflects and shapes. What makes Caribbean literature different from Western literature is a complex question. I will provide just ideas by way of conclusion.

Firstly, the topography in the Caribbean is unique in that the flora and fauna, weather and atmospheric conditions are decidedly tropical. When authors write about frangipanis, palm trees, mangroves, papayas, mangoes, *watapana* and *divi-divi* trees, they introduce the reader to a specific geographical setting where these tropical trees, flowers and fruit flourish. Secondly, the sociological make-up of the inhabitants is different in that whole communities of people arose from colonial contact and that the result is a mixture of remnants of Amerindians, African slaves and Europeans. Thus their past

histories, traumas of displacement, enslavement and forced labour, left telltale signs on the culture and the spirit of this hybrid people. Consequently their feelings, goals, outlook in life and attitudes are those unfamiliar to the Western world.

The Caribbean is looked at as a distinct literary zone which aspires to emphasize the similar changes many of the inhabitants had to endure in the light of linguistic, economic, political and social barriers. While the region is fragmented in many ways, which includes geographical, historical and literary episodes, they are at the same time united in a common colonial history, the exploitation of its resources, its slavery, its plantation economies and its subsequent revolutions, all of which feature prominently in the literary productions of Caribbean authors. I must therefore conclude that diversity, also attests to a unity.

In *In Praise of New Travelers*, Isabel Hoving writes that Caribbean literature is written in Spanish, Papiamentu, Sranan, Dutch, Hindi, Portuguese, French, English and many other dialects and Creoles of the area. She notes:

> Even within one language, Caribbean writers are positioned between many registers, cultures, and genres. But Caribbean literature is also plural because it addresses many other literatures: African-American, European, African, Asian. This transnational orientation is acutely visible in women's writing. Not only do the new women writers emphasize the hybrid and diasporic nature of Caribbean literature, but they also suggest that, as well as being linguistic, cultural and ethnic, the diversity of Caribbean literature is gender-specific (Hoving 2001: 3).

Selwyn Cudjoe remarks that "[t]he rise of women's writings in the Caribbean cannot be viewed in isolation. It is part of a much larger expression of women's realities that is taking place in the postcolonial world..." (Cudjoe 1996: 6). He concludes that the writings of the Spanish Caribbean dominated Caribbean literature in the nineteenth

century with its antislavery and Indianistic focus, and that by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the literature of the French Caribbean was dominated by the theme of racial equality. He posits that whereas the American Indian was taken as the symbol of patriotism in the Spanish Caribbean, Africa and African roots became the symbols of national pride in the French Caribbean. Creole literatures will remain somewhat shrouded in the shadows at least in international literary history unless more of these works are translated for presentation to the world at large. This dissertation seeks to fill that void. As the texts were taken from multiple genres there was no attempt to glorify Papiamentu, but to showcase a language not well known outside the Caribbean.

Five hundred years after initial colonial oppression, the Caribbean still has remnants of an internalized colonial consciousness. The struggle for a national identity and thus for decolonization is an ongoing one, as its people continue to transform perceived imperial structures. Few ever talk about the ugliness of racism as a remaining remnant of the politics of colonization. There is instead talk of inter-culturalism, ethnic culture, and ethnic roots. Little wonder then that descendants of those forced into a life of captivity and slavery have profound feelings concerning their tarnished past and make every effort to create a new if sometimes artificial self-image. The characteristic form of colonialism is a racial and economic hierarchy with an ideology that claims superiority of one race and the inferiority of the other. This national ideology permeates colonial society and all its institutions, including the Church, cultural agencies and education, with the result that the colonized slowly become indoctrinated and inevitably accept their inferiority. From this perspective colonialism is a complex and national system of racial, cultural, and political domination wherein the colonizer is superior and the colonized inferior. The only way out from this way of life is to challenge the stereotypical role of

the colonized and to develop a sense of individual and cultural consciousness. Such a consciousness comprises all of a person's experiences, contributes to a person's sense of identity, and is therefore a reflection of a person's milieu.

Lang writes that "...creole speakers have systematically been discouraged from achieving literacy in their native languages, hence from acquiring complex literary form and the premeditated rhetorical strategies writings affords" (Lang 2000: 142). Having looked at a variety of Papiamentu genres, it becomes evident that any literature in Creole, or any "creolizing literature", may be looked upon as a conscious act in which the author deliberately takes on a teaching role of a cultural spokesperson. A Creole author thus enhances the chosen language of art as an expression of his identity and resistance. While demonstrating a thorough acquaintance with and knowledge of the culture, the author injects into his writings Western literary models, the colonial ideology of Afro-Antillean folklore, and a variety of aspects of the local culture.

After 1969, Antilleans began increasingly to raise their voices with renewed pride and determination, talking openly about their situation and expressing a desire for change. The focus of the movement born on the thirtieth of May, 1969, was on ethnicity and nationalism. People became more confident as by its very nature activism rejects inferiority feelings. Instead, bolstered by a development of revolutionary and political awakening, Antilleans became motivated to show other, but mostly themselves, that they had a past, had a voice and had the tools to reconstruct and to celebrate a "Papiamentu identity" and to create a sense of solidarity and pride which rests on a shared heritage and a history of struggle.

The translations as well as the writing of this dissertation have offered the writer a journey of discovery for her own identity which began in Curaçao. Having been born in a

family that immigrated to the Netherlands Antilles, and growing up in a household where Dutch was the mother tongue my involvement with Papiamentu was minimal. As such I remained ever outside the circle of those with a "Papiamentu identity". My journey, though beginning in Willemstad, Curaçao, made stops and contact with many people, places and languages along the way and ended up full circle with studying Papiamentu, the language of my birthplace. Finally being given the chance to research the history, the people, the culture and the language of the ABC islands, also allowed me to capture something, not yet articulated, of my own identity. Claiming this identity brought me to a better understanding and appreciation of the history of the islands, the colonial impact, the genesis of the Creole language Papiamentu and its inherent culture. My voice joins others in saying "Di nos e ta!" [It is ours!].

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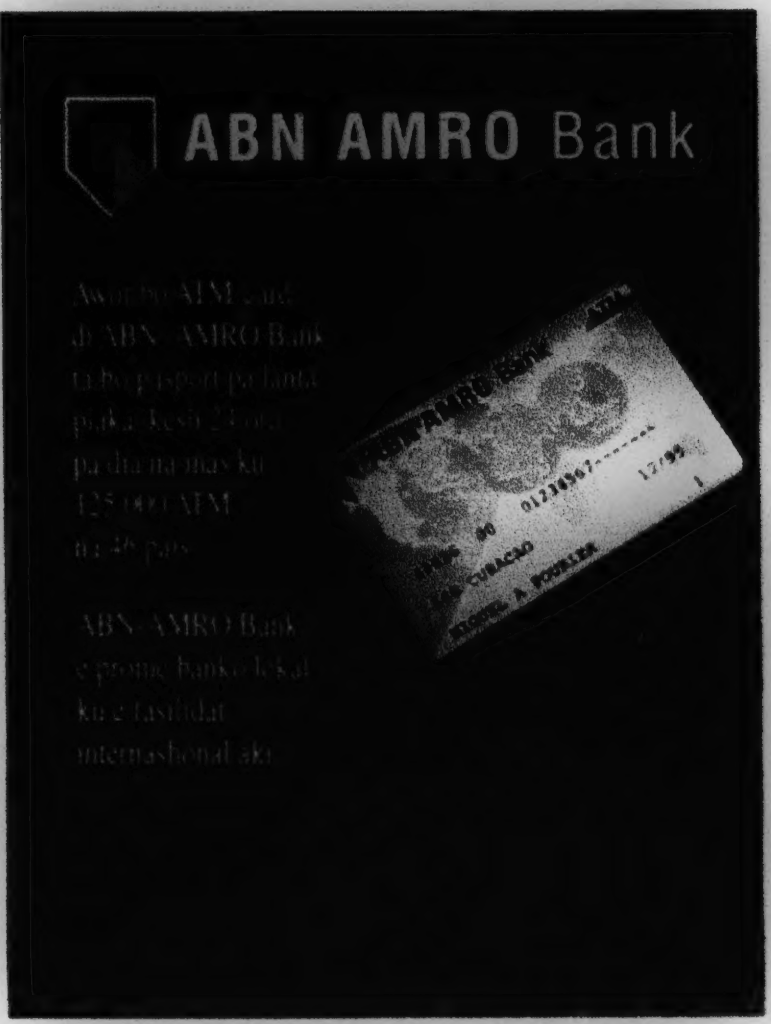
Appendix I: Advertisements



Laga limpia bo stul i tapeit,
saka mancha lagu'é nobis-
nobis. Pone bo ofisina i sala
di reunion lusi atrobe. K'un
sistema rebolushonario
nos ta saka mancha tambe
f'e tur tipo di flur,
mosaiko i "baksteen",
dun'é su koló original bèk.

TIDY
UPHOLSTERY
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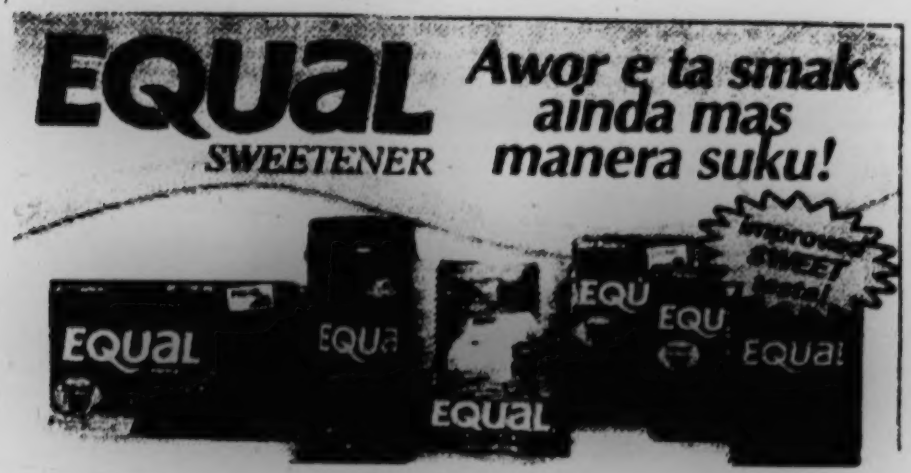
Ser'i Loraweg band'i Ofisina di Rijbewijs
Tel. 676464-604898 Fax: 676440


EQUAL
SWEETENER
Awor e ta smak
ainda mas
manera suku!
EQUAL
EQUAL
EQUAL
EQUAL
EQUAL

Anochi di informativo di salud pa hende muher

ORANJESTAD (AAN): Carlos Manuel Viana, PhD. OMD, CAP. Acu. (China). Nutricionista, lo presenta un anochi informativo "Women's Health 2000". E ta encuanto salud di muher, y topico lo inclui e.o.:

Adolescence & Teenage Years.
Sexuality & Fertility.
Female Cancers.
Breast & Uterine.
Menopause.
Growing Old Gracefully.

No perde e oporunidad aki. E ta awe Diamars 2 di Mei pa 7'or di anochi na cas di Dr. Viana na Kibaima.

'FOOD FESTIVAL' NA CLUB VAERSENBAAI

...Organisá pa Krus Kòrá.....

WILLEMSTAD.- Krus Kòrá Kòrsou ta organisá un tremendo 'food festival' na club Vaersenbaai djadumingu 4 di yüni próksimo.

E festival di kuminda aki ta bai tin un variedat grandi di kuminda ku stèntnan di entre otro piská, kabes ku igra, kabritu, galiña stobá, barbeque, bami i hopi mas.

For di 11'or di mainta por pasa kumpra bo kuminda pa solamente 10 florin.

Tambe lo tin diferente wega pa mucha i tambe un Bon Kuné ku bunita premio. Por landa riba e dia aki tambe.

Entretenamentu ta na enkargo di The Chain Breakers i tambe un D.J.

Tui anochi por kumpra karchi serka miembronan di Krus Kòrá na Rode Kruis Post Suffisant i tambe dia 4 di yüni na porta.

Entrada general ta kompletamente gratis.

Appendix II:

Hymno di Kòrsou

Lanta nos boz, ban kanta
Grandesa di Kòrsou.
Kòrsou isla chikitu,
Baranka den laman.
Kòrsou nos ta stima bo,
Ariba tur nashon, bo gloria
Nos ta kanta, di henter nos kurazon.

I ora nos ta leuw foi kas
Nos tur ta rekorda
Kòrsou su solo i playanan
Orguyllo di nos tur.
Laga nos gloria Creador
Tur tempu i sin fin,
Ku El a hasi nos digno di ta yu di Kòrsou.

Anthem of Kòrsou

Let's lift our voice, let's sing
About the greatness of Kòrsou.
Kòrsou, tiny island,
Rock in the sea.
Kòrsou we love you
Above all other nations. About your glory
We sing with all our heart.

And when we are far from home
We will remember
The sun of Kòrsou, and its beaches;
The pride of us all.
Let us give praise to our Creator
Always and without end
That he has found us worthy to be a native of Kòrsou.

Himno Bonaireano

Tera di solo y suave bientu
Patria orguyoso salí fo'i lamá
Pueblo humilde semper contentu
Di un conducta tur parti gabá.

Pues laga nos trata tur dia
Pa nos Bonaire ta semper mentá
Pa nos canta den bon armonia
Dushi Bonaire nos patria stimá.

Laga nos tur como Bonaireano
Uni nos canto, alza nos boz
Nos cu ta yiunan di un pueblo sano
Semper conforme sperando den Dios.

Nada lo por kita e afecto
Cu nos ta sinti pa e Isla di nos
Maske chikitu cu tur su defecto
Nos ta stimele ariba tur cos.

Anthem of Bonaire

Land of sun and mild wind
Proud native land that rose from the sea
Humble folk, always content
With a behaviour that is boasted abroad.

Thus let us try each day
That our Bonaire is always mentioned
Let us sing in harmony
Bonaire, our dear and beloved native land.

Let us all, as Bonaireans
Unite our song, lift up our voice
We who are children of a lucid people
Always united in trusting in God.

Appendix III:

ROBINSON CRUSOE

Original di Daniel Defoe

Version Condensa

Adaptacion na Papiamento:

Jossy M. Mansur

Capitulo I

E Prome Aventuranan di Robinson

E unico cos ou tabata importante awor tabata su seguridad, hasta mas importante cu cuminda

Robinson tabata riba e isla caba durante bintiuno aña. Cuatro aña a pasa desde cu el a descubri e rosto-nan morta. Durante e cuatro añanan ey no tabata tin señal di mas bisnita di e canibalnan. Robinson tabata casi convenci cu ningun otro salvahe lo bolbe bin e isla pa molestie.

Pero na December di su di bintiuno aña, e bida pacifico di Robinson a ser interumpi. Un mainta tempran, el a mira huma ta subi riba e costa na su banda di e isla. El a pone a trapi contra e banda di e cero riba su fortaleza y a subi le e top. El a loun riba su sloma, y cu su largabista, el a cuminsa busca e candela.

E circulo rondo di gias pronto a revela nuebe salvahe sinta rond di un candela chikito. Pero pronto nan a crenta nan carga y a rema bay.

Asina cu nan tabata fuera di bista Robinson a gara su scopet y a bay den direccion di e beach. Sangel, weescnan y pida pida carni humano tabata tira riba e santo. E sentimentonan asesino di Robinson a bolbe, y el a hura cu e ta bay destrui e salvahenan proximo biaha nan pone pia riba e isla.

Capitulo 8

E Prome Sonido Humano

Durante e proximo aña, Robinson a pensa sclamente riba con haci pa e scapa di e isla. Pa awor e tabata anhela pepia cu otro persona conto unda e tabata, y e tabata ansioso pa algun herde bin rescate.

Su speranza pa ser rescata tabata hopi hasta algun luna pasa, ora cu un barco Spañó a encaya riba e harancanan. Pero, ora cu Robinson a bay busca su boto y a navega te e barco, "tur loke el a haya ta curpanan muerto y un cantidad chikito di cargamento cu el a trece pa su fortaleza.

E scopetnan, polvora y paña lo ta util pe. Y e unico sobrevivente, e cacho di e barco lo luna lugar di su promer pel cu a muri hopi aña pasa.

Pero, con inutil e saconan di oro cu el a haya tabata pe! Nan no por a cumpre otro ser humano cu kende e por papia.

E idea di scapa awor a bira asina fuerte cu Robinson no por a resiste mas. El a pensa riba dje durante dia y tabata soña cune anochi. E mesun soño tabata repiti su mes tur anochi. Den su soño, e salvahenan tabata bin e isla cu un prisionero. E prisonero tabata scapa di e salvahenan y tabata core directamente den direccion di Robinson buscando ayudo. Robinson tabata ricibe, e tabata scondo, y pronto tabata un simi-nte sol. E prisonero aki, un nativo o yude scapa di e isla te tera firme.

E soño aki a bira asina real cu Robinson a decidi cu e unico manera pa e scapa tabata si e rescata un di e prisioneronan cu e salvahenan tabata trece cu nan. E ora ey e resto di su soño lo bira realidad.

Asina Robinson a cuminsa mirnta quando riba beach. El a bay ey durante e proximo seis luranan, mirando den direccion di costa, sperando di mira e salvahenan. Un aña a pasa, djey un aña y mey y ningun canoa a aparece riba laman.

Djey, un mainta durante su di binticinco aña riba e isla, Robinson a lanta y a haya e canoa cu e tabata buscando. Tabata tin cinco canoa riba e costa na su banda di e isla. E salvahenan cu a bin den e canoanan ya a baha na tera y tabata fuera di bista. Pero cinco canoa tabata kier meen binti o trinta homber. Con Robinson por ataca nan tur so?

El a sub riba e top di e cero riba su fortaleza y a mira trinta homber bailando rond di un candela. Nan cami tabata cushinando, pero Robinson no tabata sigur ki clase di carni e tabata.

Mientras e tabata contemplando nan, el a mira dos homber ser lastra di e canoanan pa e candela. Un di nan inmediatamente a ser tumba cu un klop, y e canibalnan a cuminsa core.

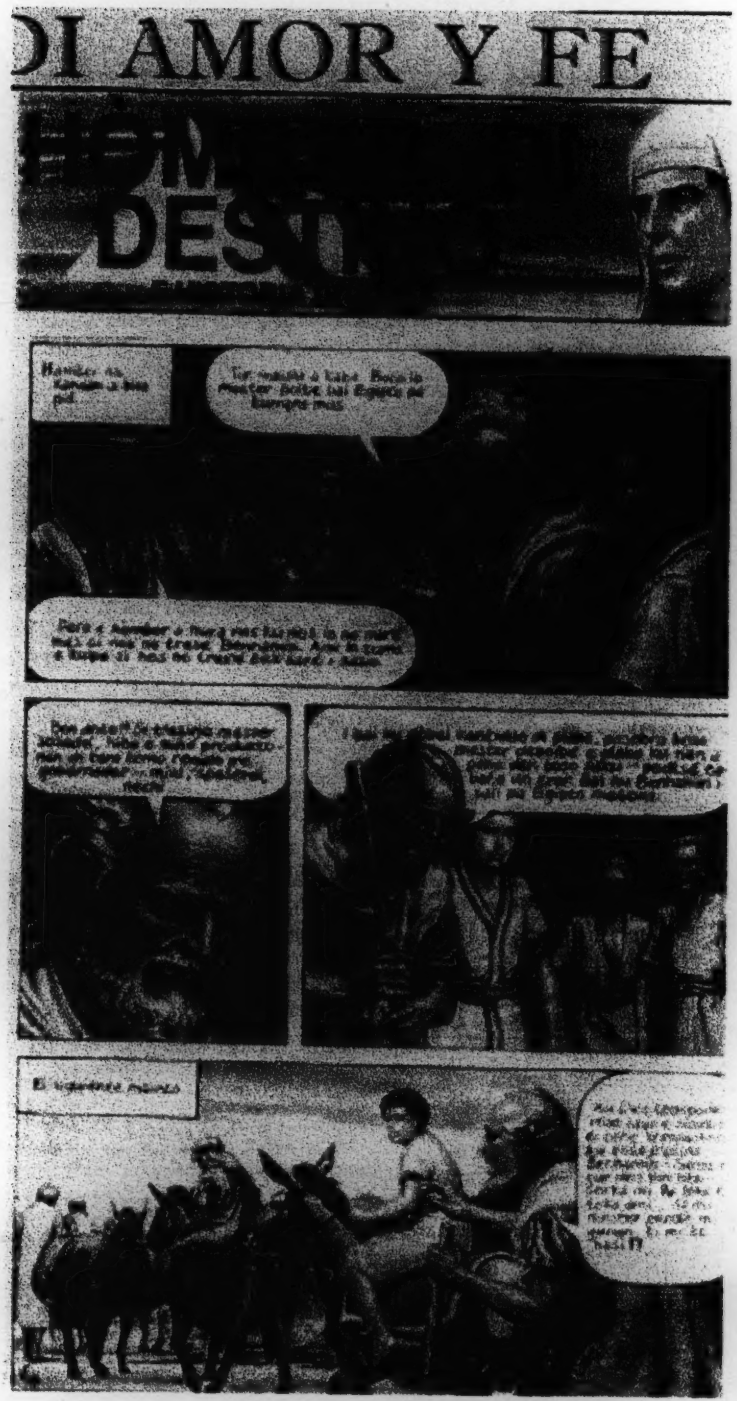
E otro prisonero a ser saga para su so te ora nan tabata cla pe. Mirando su mes sin vigilancia y soñando di por saliba su bida, e nativo a biaha a core bay leu di nan. E a drenta e mondi. E tabata bringando den direccion di Robinson.

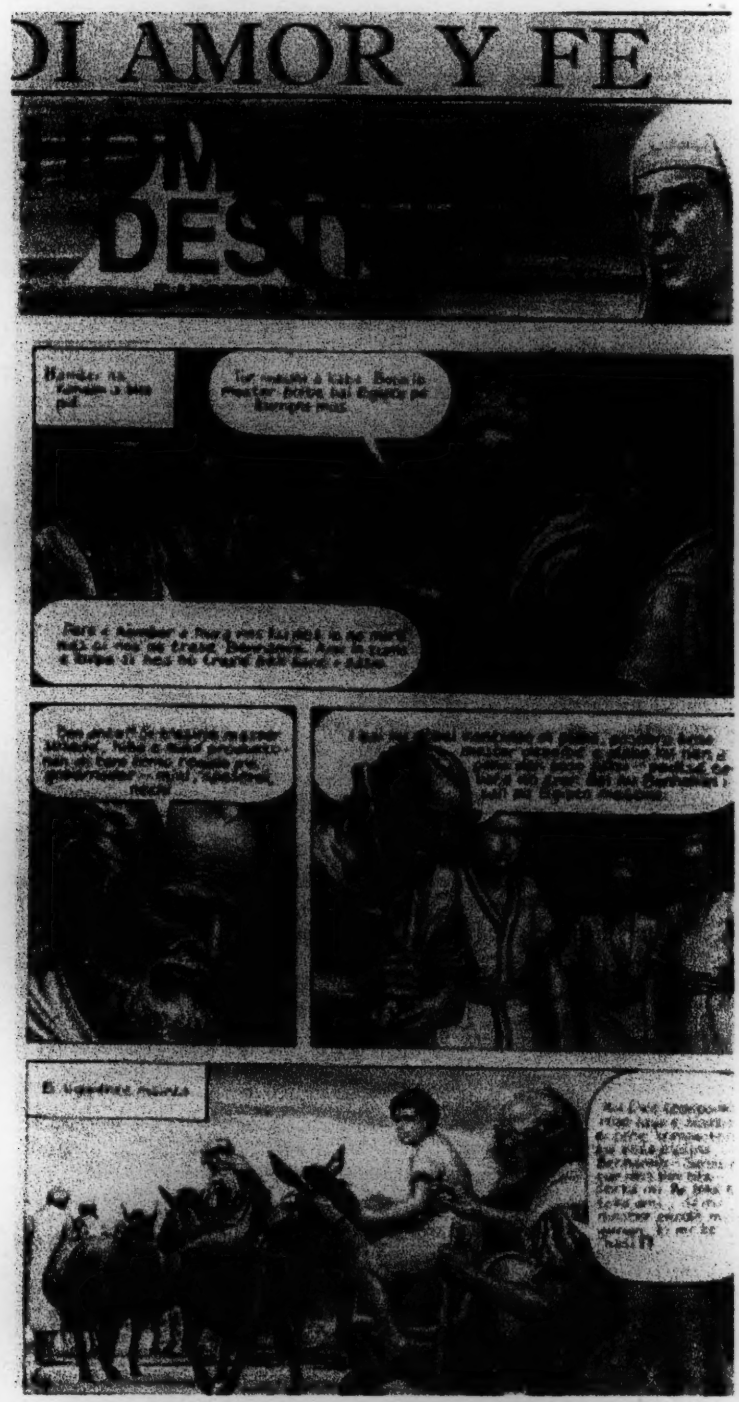
Mientras Robinson tabata mirando e eventonan luna lugar e no por a eksta di punta su mes, "Ta cu mi soño ta branco realidad?" Pero djey el a bira su atencion na e salvahenan y a mira cu sclamente tres di nan a ser manda pa busca e nativo cu a core bay.

Robinson a bira contento cu e a mira cu e nativo tabata core mas duro cu e salvahenan. "Sigui core!" el a suspira. "Bo lo logra!"

Djey e nativo a bin na e loo.

E TA CONTINUA.


DI AMOR Y FE
DES
El siguiente mundo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